

**The Poem
Scachs d'amor (1475)
First Text of
Modern Chess.**



Govert Westerveld

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(c) Govert Westerveld**

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my friend, the late Dr. Ricardo Calvo

Foreword

The *Obres e Trobes* (the first book printed in Spain in 1474 in Valencia) is an art competition held on March 25 of that year. There are many poets who have poems and couplets in this art competition, and we find three poets among them, writers of scachs d'amor: Francesc Castellví, Bernard Fenollar and Narcís de Vinyoles. The *Obres e Trobes* is considered to be the first literary work printed in Spain of which the only known copy in the world is preserved in the University Library of Valencia. It consists of 60 leaves without foliation and signature and is written in Roman letters on paper with hand and star watermark. The three poets, as we see, already knew each other. Seeing the relationship they had with King Ferdinand and knowing his passion for the game of chess, there may be another thing they thought about around 1475. It was time to change the figure of the queen and bishop on the chessboard and inform the King by means of their poem in the form of a manuscript.

As Ramon Miquel i Planas (1874-1950) warned in 1914, the real importance of the poem *Scachs d'amor* would not be known until we had a serious study done by a real expert in chess. This work had been done for years by my friend Dr. Ricardo Calvo (1943-2002) whose book was written in 1999 with the foreword by his friend José Antonio Garzón, another expert in the history of chess and who now continues in the footsteps of Dr. Calvo. Garzón had actively helped Calvo with personal communications in the analysis of this poem.

According to Dr. Ricardo Calvo, the political activity of Castellví, Fenollar and Vinyoles, and their good relationship with King

Ferdinand, gives us a very plausible link to Lucena. The Lucenas belonged to the Aragonese crown. Juan Ramírez de Lucena, the father of the chess player Lucena, was ambassador of King Ferdinand, and when the Inquisition prosecuted him, in Zaragoza in 1504, there is a dramatic letter still wherein Juan de Lucena reminds the monarch of all his past services to the crown. It seems likely that chess circle of Valencia was known by the Lucena clan, if not as a group of chess players, as it could be, at least as a team of high ranking officers in Valencia. Also to be remembered is the fact that Lucena the chess player had travelled "in Italy and France" with his father before writing his chess book, and the port of Valencia was the most sensible departure route when going to Italy. Altogether, a probable connection between Lucena and the chess circle of Valencia looks decisively reinforced, and not only limited to the well-established link through the printer Leonard Hutz.

One of the most exiting discoveries of Jerónimo Miguel Briongos was that Juan Ramírez de Lucena was working with Prince Ferdinand in Aragon before Ferdinand married Isabel I in 1469.

With Calvo's hypothesis and the dissertation of Jerónimo Miguel Briongos we can solve the question of how it was possible that Bernard Fenollar could arrange the new rules in chess. He had the help of two other poets: Narcis de Vinyoles and Francesc Castellví. Thus we come to the year 1473 when the Ambassador Juan Ramirez de Lucena went to France to defend the interests of Johan II of Aragon, as well as a secret mission to defend the interests of Isabella I of Castile and her husband Ferdinand II of Aragon. The protonotary's diplomatic activity in those years did not meet the approval of King Johan II who called Juan Ramírez de Lucena the servant of Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza.

Being ambassador of a kingdom was not an easy job in 1473 for Juan Ramírez de Lucena. The king of France Louis XI, who was making active preparations for the forcible occupations of Rousillon and

Cerdagne, was determined to gain time by amusing the ambassadors with a show of negotiation and interposing every obstacle with his ingenuity that could devise their progress through his dominions. He succeeded so much in the latter part of this scheme that the embassy did not reach Paris until the end of Lent (Spring) in 1474. Louis XI, who seldom resided in this capital, ensured to be absent at this time. The ambassadors in the interim were entertained with balls, festivities, military reviews, and whatever else might divert them from the real objects of their mission. All communication was cut off with their own government as their couriers were stopped and their dispatches intercepted.

In other words our protonotary and ambassador Juan Ramírez de Lucena had enough time to study the chess literature in France on top of the chess literature he had already studied in the Papal court and in the diverse Italian provinces. There was no way that he could fulfill his diplomatic missions. In all those months the protonotary was thus able to acquire knowledge of the history of chess in France. No doubt that being in the highest circles of the French courtiers he could have seen various chess manuscripts and been the man who passed the French chess game with the weak dame to Valencia when he returned from his diplomatic mission in 1474.

Knowing the biography of the protonotary and his activities in Italy and France in the highest sphere of society it is clear that his son Lucena could take advantage of this, because his father had opened the door in many places. No doubt that during the life of the protonotary Juan Ramírez de Lucena his son visited these places in Italy and France, as Lucena himself confirmed in the chess treaty of 1497.

Consequently with this research we take things a step further disclosing in this way the true origin of new Chess in Spain.

Govert Westerveld

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Scachs d'Amor in honor of Ricardo Calvo in Alcoy, October 2008

Photo: courtesy of Chessbase

**From left: Leontxo García, Rafael Andarias, Carmen Romeo,
Antonio Castelló, Govert Westerveld y José Antonio Garzón**

CHAPTER I

The Poem “Scachs d'amor” of Francesc de Castellví, Bernat Fenollar i Narcís de Vinyoles

This is a poem that describes a fifteenth Chess Game between the authors. A poem called *The Chess Game of Love* [*Scachs d'Amor*], written by Don Francí de Castellví and Narcís Vinyoles and Mossèn [Bernat de] Fenollar, under the names of three planets: Mars, Venus, and Mercury, by conjunction and influence of which the work was devised.

Don Francí de Castellví carries the game of Mars and takes the name of Love; his standard is red [white pieces]; his King is reason, his Queen¹, will; his Rooks, desires; his Knights, praises; his Bishops², thoughts; his Pawns, services. Narcís Vinyoles carries the game of Venus, and takes the name of Glory; his standard is green [black pieces]; his King is honor; his Queen, beauty; his Rooks, reserve; his Knights, disdains; his Bishops, sweet glances; his Pawns, courtesies.

Mossèn Fenollar speaks the effects of Mercury: first, he scans the board; he compares it to Time; he counts the number of squares, they are sixty-four; sixty-four stanzas answer to them; he proffers the laws and pacts that must be followed by the players.

The stanzas are in chain form [ABAB/BAB/CC], with nine lines each and in sequential order, that is, four, three, and two, and thus must they be written and read. In their inscriptions [*epitafi*] you will see the sum of their literal sense, that is, the game of chess and the pacts to be obeyed.

¹ Another word for Queen is Dama. I do not translate the name “Dama” in Queen or Lady, but maintain the name “Dama”.

² The Valencian equivalent of bishop is alfil, a word used exclusively for this chess piece. From Arabic al-fil, or “the elephant.”

VALENCIAN

Castellví - diagrama 1 (Mars)

1 Trobant se Març ab Venus en un temple,
2 ensempls tenint Mercuri [en] sa presència,
3 ordi hun joch de scachs, ab nou exemple:
4 prenent Raho per Rey sens preheminència;
5 la Voluntat per Reyna 'b gran potencia;
6 los Pensaments per sos Orfils contemple;
7 Cavalls, Lahors ab dolça eloqüència;
8 Rochs son Desigs que 'nçenen la membria;
9 Peons, Serveys pugnant per la victoria.

SPANISH

[i] **Castellví (Rojos).**—Habiendo encontrado Marte en un templo à Venus, y teniendo entrambos en su presencia à Mercurio, urdió Marte una partida de ajedrez, por manera aún no vista: tomando à la Razón por Rey sin preeminencia y à la Voluntad por Reina de gran poder, contempla por Alfiles à los Pensamientos y por Caballos à los Loores de dulce elocuencia; los Roques son Deseos que inflaman la memòria, y los Peones, Servicios que pugnan por el triunfo.

VALENCIAN

Vinyoles – diagrama 2 (Venus)

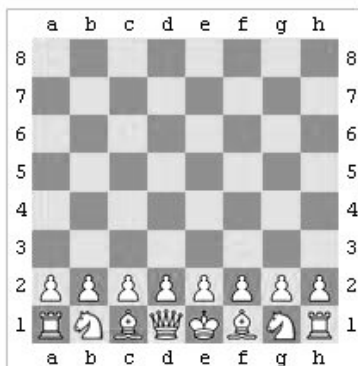
10 Per exercir Venus la sua gloria,
11 volgue per Roch Vergonya cautelosa;
12 Cavalls, Desdenys en paga meritòria;
13 Orfils, Esguarts de vista delitosa;
14 per Dama pres Bellea graciosa;
15 y lo seu Rey, seguint d'amor ystoria,
16 fon la Honor ab vida perillosa;
17 per fels Peons prengue les Cortesias,
18 armats, guarnts de mil parençaryas.

ENGLISH

Castellví (Red). – diagram 1 (Mars)

As Mars met Venus in a temple,
and being both in the presence of Mercury,
Mars devised a game of Chess such as yet unseen
Taking Reason for King without pre-
eminence;
and Will for a Queen of great power;
choosing Thoughts as Bishops and
as Knights the praises of sweet eloquence,
he Castles are Desires that inflame memory
and the Pawns are Services that fight for
Victory.

Diagram 1



ENGLISH

Vinyoles (Green). - diagram 2 (Venus)

To exercise her glory Venus wanted
Rooks to caution Shame
for Knights, disdains of deserved return;
for Bishops' glances of sweet contemplation,
for the nice Dama she took most pleasing
beauty.
And the King, as befits a story of love,
was Honor, his life ever in danger;
for faithful Pawns he took courtesy
all armed and adorned with ostentation.

SPANISH

[2] **Vinyoles** (Verdes).—Para ejercitar su glòria quiso Venus por Roque à la cautelosa Verguena; por Caballos, Desdenes en pago merecido; por Alfiles, Miradas de dulce contemplación ; por Dama tomo à la agradable Bellesa, y su Rey, como conviene à una historia de amor, fue el Honor, de existència siempre en peligro; por Peones de toda fidelidad tomo à las Cortesías, armándolas y guarneciéndolas de toda clase de fingimientos.

VALENCIAN

Fenollar – diagrama 3 (Mercury)

19 Mercuri, prest en sos modos y vias,
20 pinta·l taulell de sorts clares y escures:
21 y fon lo Temps, partit per nits y dies,
22 un quadre fent les primeres clausures;
23 lo qual per creu parti 'n quatre natures
24 de temps divers; y apres, seguint ses guies,
25 de quada part feu quatre 'guals figures;
26 e, dividint sots tal pacte la resta,
27 un sis y hun quart suma tota la llesta.

SPANISH

[3] **Fenollar**.—Rápido en sus recursos y maneras, pinto Mercurio el tablero de colores clares y obscures (y así fué como el tiempo, que se divide en días y en noches), formando un cuadrado sus limites primeros. Ese fué por él dividido en cuatro maneras de tiempo, y luego, siguiendo el mismo procedimiento, hizo en cada una de esas cuatro partes otras cuatro figuras iguales ; el todo, subdividido aún por tales medios, llego à sumar, en conjunto, un seis seguido de un cuatro (ó sesenta y cuatro).

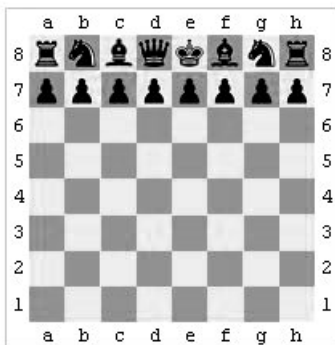


Diagram 2

ENGLISH

Fenollar – diagram 3 (Mercury)

Mercury, always quickly in his resources, painted the board with light and dark colors and made it Time, divided into days and nights forming squares as first limits. He divided it into four ways of time repeating the same procedure. In each part he made four equal parts and again divided the rest in the same fashion, The list adds up to sixty-four.

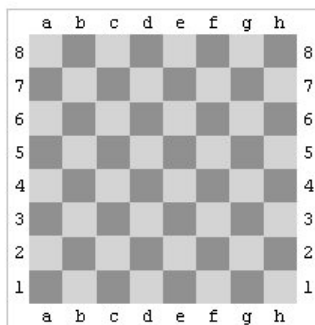


Diagram 3

VALENCIAN

Castellví - diagrama 4

(Lo Peo del Rey va en la quarta casa)
28 Lo camp partit y tota la gent presta,
29 lo gran guerrier, ab la 'nsenya vermella,
30 mogue tantost a tota se requesta,
31 prenent Amor per nom en sa querela;
32 e tramete ves lo camp de la bella
33 lo pus valent Peo de la conquesta:
34 lo qual tira dos passos devers ella.
35 Movent aquest lo Rey, Raho descobre,
36 e lo cami de Voluntat se obre.

SPANISH

[4] - Castellví (Rojos: 1. P4R).—Partido el campo y dispuesta toda la gente, el gran guerrero Marte, con su estandarte rojo, movió luego todo su poder, tomando "Amor" por mote de su querella. Mandó al campo de la hermosa al mas valiente Peón de su mesnada, el cual dio dos pasos adelantando hacia aquella. Al mover el Rey este Peón, puso a la Razón (R) en descubierto y abrió paso a la Voluntad (D).

VALENCIAN

Vinyoles - diagrama 5

(Lo Peo de la Dama a la quarta casa)
37 Dama gentil, ab animo no pobre,
38 portant de vert bandera de sperança,
39 per nom cridant: «Gloria, gloria cobre
40 la mia gent ab benaventurança!»
41 Lo seu Peo, cortes, ab gran temprança,
42 avant passa, porque Bellea obre,
43 en joch d'amor, la primera parança.
44 Prenent hun gest humil per sa defesa,
45 lo cor feri d'amorosa scomesa.

ENGLISH

Castellví (Red: 1. P4R) – diagram 4

The fields assigned and all the men arranged, the great warrior Mars with his red standard decided to move as soon as required taking Love as the name for the battle. He moved towards the field of the beautiful, the bravest pawn in conquest who moved two paces towards her. By this move the King discovers Reason and opens the road of Will.

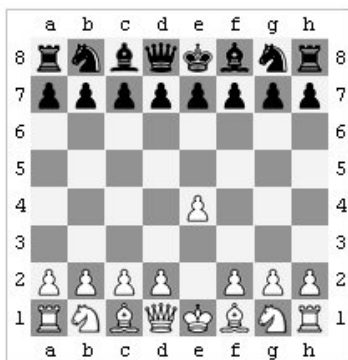


Diagram 4

ENGLISH

Vinyoles (Green: 1. P4D) – diagram 5

The gentle Dama, not lacking in spirit, wore the green flag of Hope and shouted: "Glory, glory covers my soldiers with all blessings!" She advanced her Pawn courteously with an even temper because Beauty makes, the first step in the game of love. With a humble gesture for defense she was wounded in the heart with loving rush.

SPANISH

[5] Vinyoles (Verdes: 1. P4D).—La Dama gentil, no escasa de animo, luciendo verde bandera de esperanza y clamando "¡Glòria, glòria alcancen mis soldados, con fortuna !", hizo adelantar à su Peón, con gran templanza y cortesia; porque en juego de amor la Bellesa (D) es quien arma la primera celada. Afectando un gesto humilde de defensa, hirió en el corazón con amorosa acometida.

VALENCIAN

Fenollar (Diu que lo tocat se hagia de jugar)

46 La ley que deu primer esser admesa,
47 es, en tal joch, que la pessa toquada,
48 ab fermetat, sens debat ni contesa,
49 per cascu, cert, hagia d'esser jugada.
50 Cau en rao: car pensa 'namorada,
51 havent elet, liberta ni sospesa
52 restar no deu, mes del tot subjugada.
53 E per ço·s diu: «!Ardiment y follia
54 en cascu fet, puys fet es, fet se sia!»

SPANISH

[6] Fenollar.—La primera de las leyes que es fuerza se admita en tal juego, es que la pieza tocada por cada uno deba ser jugada con decisión y sin que quepa debaté ni controversia. Eso cae en razón : porque una vez ha elegido, el pensamiento enamorado no debe ya quedar libre ni indeciso, sinó sometido por completo. Y por esta causa se dice: "En toda acción, precisa ardimiento y locura; y lo hecho, hecho está."



Diagram 5

ENGLISH

Fenollar (He says that a piece touched must be played)

The first rule you must abide by in this game is that a piece once touched firmly, admitting neither debate nor controversy

by any player, must be played.

This is logical: lover's thoughts once chosen, cannot afford to hesitate, but must fully commit.

And for this reason it is said: "Any action requires boldness and madness, and what's done is done."

VALENCIAN

Castellví – diagrama 6

(Lo Peo del Rey pren lo Peo de la Dama)

55 Lo bon Servey, rebut ab Cortesia,
56 prengue de nou, esforç, per acceptar la,
57 fent se senyor del lloch hon la cullia,
58 sens pus pensar si podra 'nujar la;
59 perque lo grat que'l força tant [a] amar la,
60 a desigiar tal gloria·l movia
61 tostemps seguint amor, fins a trobar la.
62 L'emprenedor, per eixir ab la sua,
63 no·s deu parar per nengun plech ni rua.

SPANISH

[7] Castellví (Rojos: 2. P X P).—El buen Servicio (P), recibido con Cortesia (P), tomo nuevo esfuerzo para aceptarla, haciéndose dueño del sitio en que la obtuviera ; ni reparo ya en si podía causarle enojos, porque el afán que le fuerza à amaria tanto, le movia à desear tal glòria, perseverando en su amor hasta conseguirla. El audaz, si ha de salirse con la suya, no debe detenerse por pliegue ó arruga mas ó menos.

VALENCIAN

Vinyoles – diagrama 7

(La Dama, a la quarta casa sua, pren lo Peo que li havia pres lo seu)

64 Perque·l renom de Bellea rellua,
65 vent que·l Servey gustava Cortesies,
66 ab gran rigor ixque de casa sua
67 per castigar tant folles fantasies.
68 E, no curant de moltes lloçanies,
69 mirant se 'ntorn, com fa lo camp la grua,
70 mata·l Peo que feya valenties.
71 Lo qui enpren, mirar deu, ans que
'nprença
72 perque la fi del que fa no·l reprenga.

ENGLISH

Castellví (Red: 2. P X P) – diagram 6

Good service (P), received with courtesy (P), made a new effort to accept it, becoming owner of the spot where he gave thought to whether he could cause her anger, because the force that led him to love her moved him want such glory, while he would persevere in his love to get it.
To get his way the audacious will not be stopped by turns or thrusts.

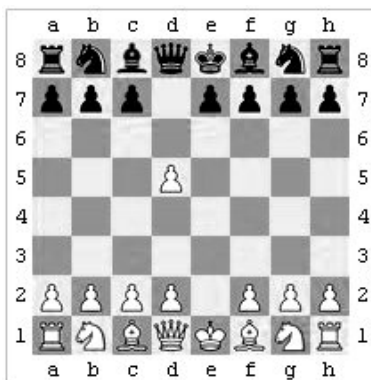


Diagram 6

ENGLISH

Vinyoles (Green : 2. D X P). – diagram 7

In order that the good name of Beauty [did you mean Beauty?] (D) remained unaffected, seeing that the service (P) was destroying the Courtesy, with great rigor she left her square to punish rigorously such crazy business. And continuing in elegance, looking around, like a crane scanning the field, she kills the Pawn who'd strutted proud. One who takes action must look, to learn, to not be hit by the aims he's pursued .

SPANISH

[8] Vinyoles (Verdes : 2. D X P).—Para que el buen nombre de Belleza (D) quede incólume, al ver que el servicio (P) destruía sus Cortesías (P), salió de su reducto, à fin de castigar con todó rigor tan locas empresas. Y, no parándose en elegancias, después de examinar el campo como hace la grulla, mató al Peón que se jactara de valiente. Aquel que emprenda, debe reflexionar antes, para que el resultado no venga en menoscabo propio.

VALENCIAN

Fenollar (Diu que lo pres una volta se hague de pendre)

73 La ley [següent], que·ls dos volem
comprenga,

74 es que la gent presa, resta cativa;

75 per ço deu molt pensar be ab qui·s prenga

76 la Voluntat, pus es senyora 'ltiva.

77 Car de grans trets lo qui pus alt s'esquiva,

78 resta pus bax, perqui lo joch aprenga;

79 puix que de grat enteniment cativa.

80 Si lo Voler Reho no vol complaure,

81 es molt degut catiu que·l vejam caure.

SPANISH

[9] Fenollar.—Una ley que queremos imponer à entrambos es que la gente aprehendida debe quedar en cautiverio : así es que la Voluntad (D), por lo mismo que es señora de tan altas dotes, debe apreciar antes con quién entra en lucha, supuesto que, en casos de gran empeño, aquel queda en mas bajo lugar que, siendo mas alto, debe retirarse para rehacer su juego. Va que por el gusto el entendimiento se subyuga, si el Querer (D) no quiere complacer à la Razón (R), muy del caso es que le veamos caer prisionero.

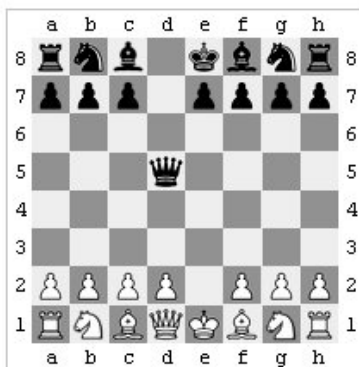


Diagram 7

ENGLISH

Fenollar

(He says a piece is taken for good)

The next law is that a piece taken will remain captive so that the Will, the Dama of high talents, must take great care with whom she goes to battle, and in great effort of leaving the lowest remain being more important, she should retire for rebuilding the game. Understanding this will make the game smooth.

If Will would not appease Reason, it stands to sense that we see him being taken prisoner.

VALENCIAN

Castellví – diagrama 8

(Lo Cavall de la Reyna va a la tercera casa de l'Orfil, tirant ves la Dama)

82 La Voluntat, desigiosa de plaure,
83 en quant pogues a la Dama eleta
84 deslibera devers aquella traure
85 sa gran Lleor ab lengua molt perfeta.
86 E fon avis de persona discreta
87 pensar tostemps servir y no desplaure
88 la que del cor senyora 'vem ja feta:
89 foll es aquell que gose fer ultragie
90 contra qui es tengut de vassallatgie.

SPANISH

[10] Castellví (Rojos: 3. C3AD).—La Voluntad (D), con deseos de agradar en lo posible a la Dama de su elección, delibero hacer salir hacia ella su gran Llor (C) de muy perfecta elocuencia. Y fué decisión de persona discreta el pensar siempre en servir sin desagradar a la que del corazón hemos erigido en señora: debe ser tenido por loco el que se atreve a ultrajar a aquel con quien está obligado en calidad de vasallo.

VALENCIAN

Vinyoles – diagrama 9

La Dama se'n torna a son loch)

91 Per ben guardar la torra d'omenatgie
92 torna [en] son loch la graciosa Dama;
93 que'l Cavaller, majorment de paratgie,
94 voler no deu taquar honesta fama.
95 L'anemorat, quant passio l'inflama,
96 no vulla dar als bens d'onor dampnatgie;
97 e, si u vol fer, fogint se romp la trama.
98 Per que quant plou, qui's cobre de la fulla,
99 crent ser exut, dos vegades se mulla.

ENGLISH

Castellví (Red: 3. C3AD) – diagram 8

(His Queen's Knight moves to the Bishop's third square, aiming towards the Dama)

Will, eager to please the chosen Dama
as much as possible, strives towards her in
order to get
his great Praise in perfect eloquence.
It was a discreet person's mind
to think ever to serve and not displease
one who has been made lady of his heart.
He who dares to offend
those with whom he is bound is a fool.

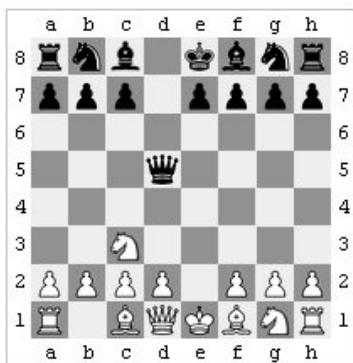


Diagram 8

ENGLISH

Vinyoles (Green: 3. D1D) – diagram 9

(The Dama goes back to her place)

To properly keep the homage tower
the gracious Dama returns to her place,
for a Knight, mostly one of noble breed,
should not wish to stain an honest fame.
So the one in love, when inflamed by passion,
should not attempt to damage the goods of
honor.
And if he insists, as she flees, his plan is
prevented.
He who shelters under a tree when it rains to
keep dry will get twice as wet.

SPANISH

[11] Vinyoles (Verdes: 3. D1D).—A fin de guardar debidamente la torre del homenaje, vuélvese á su reducto la agraciada Dama; que el Caballero (C rojo), sobre todo de noble linaje, debe abstenerse de manchar el crédito de la honestidad. Evite el enamorado á quien la pasión enardece, el causar daño en las pertenencias del honor; y, si insiste en hacerlo, huyendo de él es como se evita su intención. El que, cuando llueve, se cobija debajo de un árbol para conservarse enjuto, acaba mojándose dos veces.

VALENCIAN

Fenollar (Diu, si haveu senyalat o tocat la casa, que us metau en ella)

100 Lo terç decret vol que cascu's reculla
101 en son castell o conquistada casa,
102 y perdra la yames puga ni vulla;
103 ans den morir tenint en ma l'espasa.
104 Car la Voluntat tal foch d'amor abrasa,
105 que força may no li tol la despulla;
106 senyora es que tots los senys arrasa.
107 Puys, sens lo grat, voler may se
conquista,
108 no's pot mudar fins que lo grat desista

SPANISH

[12] Fenollar.—El tercer decreto dispone que cada uno se retraiga en su Castillo y sitio conquistado, sin que por nada pueda ni deba abandonarlo; antes debe preferir la muerte, espada en mano. Porque es tal el fuego de amor que abrasa la Voluntad (D), que ninguna fuerza es capaz de despojarla del botín; señora es que aniquila todos los sentidos, y puesto que sin el sentimiento el querer jamás se consigue, no puede ser éste tampoco desviado, mientras aquél no desista.

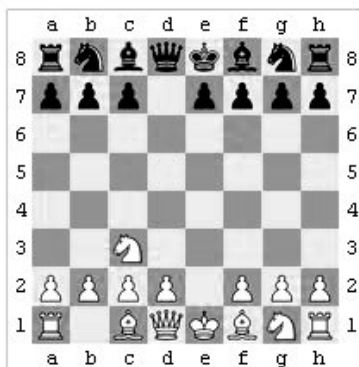


Diagram 9

ENGLISH

Fenollar – (Says that if you have pointed at or touched the house, you must get in)

The third decree states that each member retracts in his castle and conquered site and cannot leave, otherwise he ought to die by drawn sword. Because such is the fire of love that burns Will that no force is capable of stripping the booty; a lady is the one who stuns all senses. Because despite one's sentiment you'll never conquer love, and cannot change until the sentiment desists.

VALENCIAN

Castellví – diagrama 10

(L'Orfil del Rey va a la quarta casa davant l'Orfil de la Reyna)

109 Raho, trobant pus aspre que l'arista
110 la Dama que molt humil estimava,
111 restant en si de tal engan molt trista,
112 vent que Laors y Serveys desdenyava,
113 per lo valer que molt la convidava,
114 son Pensament, que sospyrant aquista,
115 fin[s] al quart grau per espia 'nvyava.
116 Qui vol saltar en alt per a llevar se,
117 primer cove algun poch abaxar se.

SPANISH

[13] Castellví (Rojos: 4 A4AD).—La Razón (R), encontrando mas áspera que la agramiza la Dama, que tenia por muy afable, quedo en su interior muy entristecida por tal engano, al considerar que eran desdenados sus Loores (C) y Servicios (P). Por lo mucho que el premio la seducía, mandó hasta el cuarto peldaño, en calidad de espia, a su Pensamiento (A), que con suspiros vence. A quien, para elevarse, se dispone a saltar, precísale antes agacharse algún tanto.

VALENCIAN

Vinyoles – diagrama 11

(Lo Cavall del Rey va a la tercera casa de Orfil de Rey)

118 La Honestat de qui sol arrear se
119 Bellea gran, si vol esser divina,
120 lo seu Desdeny trames, sens oblidarse,
121 per a tallar del Pensament la mina.
122 Que si aquell de la virtut declina
123 y no volgues per si may limitar se,
124 Defensio d'onor lo contramina.
125 Tostemps lo foch crema per sa natura,
126 mas l'aygua'l fa dançar a sa mesura.

ENGLISH

Castellví (Red: 4. A4AD) – diagram 10

Reason, finding the Dama whom he had for very affable to be rougher than the shives, being left quite sad from such deception. and seeing that Praises and Services she disdained as the prize seduced her so much, to the fourth degree he sent a spy. His Thought, that expires with sighs, who would leap for his exaltation, must first crouch a little.

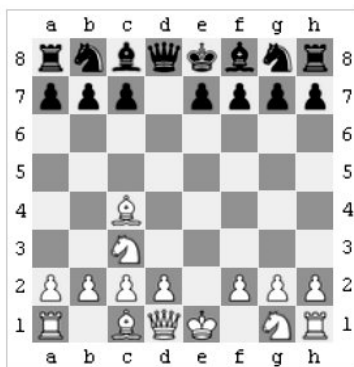


Diagram 10

ENGLISH

Vinyoles (Green: 4. C3AR) – diagram 11

Honesty (R), that usually adorns the Beauty (D) to appear divine, did not forget to send your Scorn (C) to counter the advance of Thought (To red). What if this, ignoring virtue, itself did not want to stop, the Defense of Honor (C of R), would put them at bay. Fire by its nature always burns: but water makes you behave within certain limits.

[14] Vinyoles (Verdes: 4. C3AR).— La Honestidad (R), de que suele adornarse la Belleza (D) para aparecer divina, no olvidó mandar à su Desdén (C) para contrarrestar el avance del Pensamiento (A rojo). Que si éste, desoyendo á la virtud, no quisiese por sí mismo detenerse, la Defensa de Honor (C de R) le pondría à raya. El fuego, por su naturaleza, siempre quema; empero el agua le hace comportarse dentro De ciertos límites

VALENCIAN

Fenollar

Que'l Rey puga lo primer lanç anar a terça casa)

127 L'altre decret que molt lo joch apura,
128 es que los Reys a la casa terçera,
129 lo primert tret, sens fer pus desmesura,
130 salten liberts en qualsevol manera;
131 mostrant que tart devem per la costera
132 dexar lo pla o la via segura:
133 tal exemplar en tot d'aquells s'espera.
134 Per ço cascu, quant los limits traspassa,
135 erra, mas poch, si no s'i torva massa.

SPANISH

[15] Fenollar.— Otro decreto, que afina mucho el juego, es que los Reyes, sin cometer desafuero, puedan, en su primera jugada, saltar libremente y de cualquier modo à la tercera casa. Mostrando que rara vez debemos dejar el camino llano y seguro por la costanilla, ese es el ejemplo que, en todos los casos, se espera de los Reyes. Por esto cada uno, al excederse de los límites, yerra menos, si no difiere la enmienda.

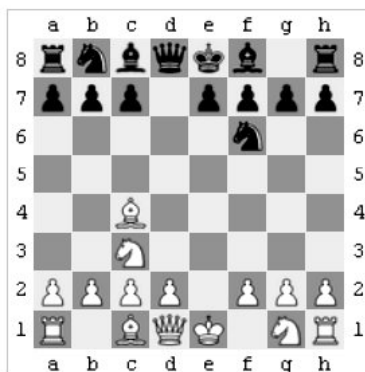


Diagram 11

ENGLISH

Fenollar - (So the King can go first to his third house)

Another decree, which greatly refines the game, is that the Kings, without committing lawlessness, may on his first play jump freely and in any direction to the third square. This shows that we rarely deviate from the plain and safe way for slope. That is the example that we expect from the Kings in all cases. Therefore each one, to exceed the limits, errs [did you mean differs?] less if the amendment does not differ.

SPANISH

[17] Vinyoles (Verdes: 5. A5CR). —Amargo manjar, cubierto de dulce corteza, es la Lisonja (C rojo), que halaga los sentidos todos, y, halagando à la Belleza (D), hace que con placer se aproxime à la falsedad engañosa que la Lisonja encubre. Concediendo (la Belleza ó D), una Dulce mirada (A) en pago de amor y à titulo de respuesta que restañe la herida de sus Desdenes (C), pueden los Ojos (A) vislumbrar lo invisible (D roja), atormentando al espíritu impávido.

VALENCIAN

Fenollar (Diu qu'ab lo salt de la tercera lo Rey no puga pendre)

154 Perque los Reys, ab poder invensible,
155 mes de raho no puguan mans estendre,
156 es decretat que, fent lo salt possible,
157 no puguen may ferir escach, ni pendre;
158 mostrant al mon que 'n punir o rependre
159 deuen merçe masclar ab l'irascible,
160 y no fer tant quant basten a comprendre;
161 car, si son grans ab ales de potencia,
162 majors seran, usant de gran clemencia

SPANISH

[18] Fenollar.—Para que mas allá de lo razonable no puedan los Reyes extender el poder invencible de sus manos, decretado está que en el saltar que les incumbe no puedan nunca atacar ni tomar; mostrando así al mundo que en el castigar y en el corregir deben moderar su ira con la benignidad, y no llegar al límite permitido à su poder ; porque si son grandes en alas de su fuerza, mas lo seran usando de su mayor clemencia.



Diagram 13

ENGLISH

Fenollar

(Says that with the jump of the third he cannot take the King)

So that Kings cannot extend the invincible power of their hands beyond reasonable, it is decreed that the jumps incumbent upon them can never attack or take, thus showing the world that the punishment and the correction should moderate their anger with kindness and not reach the allowable limit to their power, because if they are great with their wings of potency, greater they will be by using clemency.

Castellví - diagrama 14

(Jugue lo Peo de Roch de Rey hun punt, anant
sobre l'Orfil)

163 Vist lo Mirar de tant bella parencia,
164 lo bon Desigx que sots Raho milita,
165 trames tantost, ab molta reverencia,
166 lo seu Servey, per rebre'l qui l'excita.
167 L'afeccio, que va 'n los hulla escrita,
168 desperta'l cor, per la conveniencia
169 de l'amador, on ver'amor habita.
170 Conformitat es la cosa pus çerta
171 qu'entre'ls amats les amistats concerta.

SPANISH

[19] Castelví (Rojos: 6. P3TR).—Habiendo visto à la Mirada (A verde) de tan bello parecer, el buen Deseo (T) que milita à las ordenes de Razón (R), mandó luego, muy reverentemente, à su Servidor (P), para recibir à quien le solicita. El afecto, que se lleva escrito en los ojos, despierta el corazón, por conveniència del propio amador, en quien reside el amor verdadero. La condescendencia es el medio más eficaz de concertar los afectos de los amantes.

VALENCIAN

Vinvoles – diagrama 15

(L'Orfil de Reyna pren lo Cavall del Rey)

172 Perque Lahor los esperits desperta
173 y fa placar Bellea 'b cara francha,
174 ab Dolç Esguart, que'l cor ferint acerta,
175 Lahor prengue, en qui sperança tancha;
176 a denotar que a l'amant no mancha,
177 en negun temps, la fi d'amor offerta,
178 si de lahors la font nuncha s'estancha.
179 Que los legots fan dama tan contenta,
180 que:l descontent content se representa.

ENGLISH

Castellví (Red: 6. P3TR) - diagram 14

Having seen such a beautiful look, the good desire that militates under Reason commanded then very reverently, to his service, to receive those who requested him.

The affection, which is reflected in the eyes,
awakes the heart for convenience's own lover
who lives in true love.

Condensation is the most effective means of concluding affections of lovers.

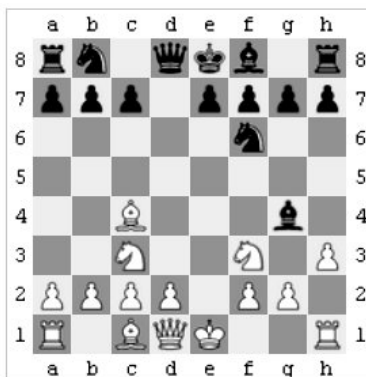


Diagram 14

ENGLISH

Vinyoles (Green: 6. A X C) – diagram 15

Supposing that Praise enlivens the spirit and calms the Beauty's anger (D) with smooth face by sweet gaze (A) which directly hurts the heart, the praise took in which hope is contained

to show that the promised aim to love
never fails to the lover if the source of praise
does not end.

Because flattering is pleasing so much to the lady, that the same anger will result in satisfaction.

SPANISH

[20] Vinyoles (Verdes: 6. A X C).—Supuesto que el Loor (C rojo) aviva el espíritu y aplaca el enojo de Bellesa (D), con rostro afable, por medio de Dulce mirar (A), que hiere directamente el corazón, tomo el Loor en que la esperanza se contiene; para demostrar que el fin prometido al amor nunca falta al amante, si la fuente del elogio no se agota. Porque las lisonjas contentan de tal modo à la dama, que el mismo enojo se traduce en satisfacción.

VALENCIAN

Fenollar (Diu que·l Rey no salte a la tercera sobre les altres pessés)

181 Mes fonch pactat que·ls Reys, hon se [a]posenta

182 valer tan gran, sobre·ls altres no salten,

183 mas, per camins segurs de sobreventa,

184 vagen tostemps on lladres may asalten.

185 Car, puix d'aquells nostres honors s'esmalten,

186 deixant atras qui·ls pot donar empenta,

187 sy·s guarden mal, a si y al poble falten.

188 Natura vol los membres ser defenssa

189 del dan del cap, on tots reben offenssa.

SPANISH

[21] Fenollar.—Fué estatuido, además, que los Reyes en quienes se aposenta valor tan grande, no deben saltar por encima de los demás, antes bien, vayan siempre asegurados de sorpresas, por caminos donde no quepa asalto de ladrones. Pues por lo mismo que nuestro honor en los Reyes se ilustra, apartando de sí quien pueda mancillarles, si mal se guardan, se faltan à sí mismos y al pueblo. Quiere la naturaleza que todos los miembros defiendan la cabeza, ya que en ella cada uno pueda recibir daño.



Diagram 15

ENGLISH

Fenollar

(Says the King should not move to the third square over the other pieces)

It has been acted in addition that

Kings, in whom such great value settles,

should not jump over the others,

but rather always go along safe roads

in ways which will not provoke assault by thieves.

For the same reason our honor in the Kings is illustrated in leaving behind those who cannot help them..

If poorly guarded, they hurt themselves and their country.

Nature wants all members to defend the leaders from hurt where all receive damage.

VALENCIAN – diagrama 16

Castellví (La Reyna pren l'Orfil de l'altre Reyna)

190 Ab resplendor que gran amor compensa,
 191 los Hulls tan vius que, mirant, abressaren
 192 l'alegra cant de la Llahor que 'ncenssa,
 193 molt humilment Voluntat convidaren·
 194 E tal esforç, mostrant se, li donaren,
 195 que pres tantost, per paga y per compensa,
 196 los Rays del Sol que tant la penetraren.
 197 Esteles son los hulls ab que naveguen
 198 los marines que 'n esta mar se neguen.

SPANISH

[22] Castellví (Rojos: 7. D X A).—Los Ojos (A verde) vivaces que abrasaron à miradas el canto adulator del Elogio (C), con brillo de amoroso premio, convidaron humildemente à la Voluntad (D). Y tal esfuerzo al mostrarse le infundieron, que esta tomo luego, en pago y recompensa, los Rayos del sol (A verde) que tanto la penetraron. Los ojos son los luminares por que se orientan los navegantes que naufragan en tales mares.

VALENCIAN

Vinyoles – diagrama 17

(Lo Rey juga hun punt lo seu Peo)

199 Perque·los amants pus clarament coneguen
 200 la Honestat ab quin tento comporta
 201 lo Pensament, del qual aquells se seguen,
 202 ab joch cortes los defença la porta,
 203 movent lo Peu hun sol pas per escorta;
 204 los enemichs ses esquadres despleguen
 205 d'aquelles vent ja la sperança morta.
 206 Discrecio cortesament ordena
 207 quant lo voler follament desordena

ENGLISH

Castellví (Green: 7. D X A) – diagram 16

The lively eyes (green A) that burned gazes by the flattering song of Praise (C), with brightest love award, invited humbly to Will (D). And such was an effort to show you infused, that soon took as pay and reward the rays of the sun (A green) that penetrated the Will.

The eyes are the luminaries
 by which the sailors who capsized in the seas orient themselves.

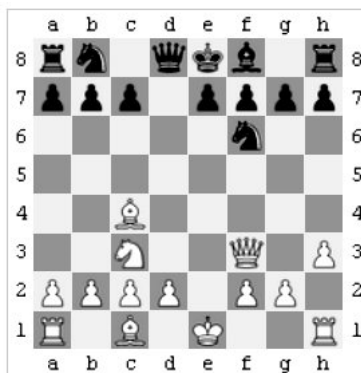


Diagram 16

ENGLISH

Vinyoles - diagram 17

(The King plays his pawn one square)

So that lovers may more clearly distinguish
 Honesty (carefully enacted
 by Thought) which lovers trail,
 with polished playfulness they set up a barrier
 by moving the Pawn one step;
 The enemies may extend their squadrons
 seeing for them that all hope has died.
 Discretion courteously combs
 what desire foolishly musses.

SPANISH

[23] Vinyoles (Verdes: 7. P3R).—A fin de que los enamorados conozcan mejor con qué cuidado la Honestidad (R) se conduce respecto del Pensamiento (A rojo) por quien aquéllos se dejan deslumbrar, con juego cortés le prohibió la entrada, adelantando su Pie (P de R) un solo paso para defenderla. Los enemigos despliegan sus huestes al considerar muerta su esperanza. Así la discreción pone cuidadosamente en orden todo aquello que el deseo ha desordenado con loca intemperancia.

VALENCIAN

Fenollar (Diu que·l Rey, llevant se per sus, no salta la tercera)

208 Es altre ley, en nombre de vuytena,
209 que·l Rey valent, retrahent sa persona,
210 no puga may, pus es d'onor la mena,
211 fer lo dit salt honrant l'alta corona;
212 mes, pas a pas, que millor se condona,
213 per son cami torne sens por ni pena,
214 ab gravitat que tals princeps corona.
215 Car molt mes val una discreta fuyta
216 que caure pres per destemprada cuyta.

SPANISH

[24] Fenollar.—Otra condición (la octava en orden) es que el Rey, defendiendo su persona, no pueda nunca dar el salto que le es peculiar, pues siendo cuestión que afecta al honor, debe hacerlo à la corona que ostenta; así, paso à paso, ya que mejor le cuadra, vuélvase por su camino sin temor ni congoja, con la gravedad que es ornato de los príncipes. Más vale una fuga discreta que caer prisionero por correr con prisa importuna.



Diagram 17

ENGLISH

Fenollar

(Says that the King, as he rises, cannot move to the third square)

Another law, the eighth, is
that the valiant King by retreating his body
as obliged by honor may never
trip so much for all the honor of his sharp
distinction.

As it is better ceded,
he may rather trip step by step, making his way
back without fear or distress,
with the importance that crowns such princes.

For a discreet flight is better
than falling prisoner because of untimely haste.

VALENCIAN

Castellví – diagrama 18

(La Reyna pren de Cavall de Dama Peo)

217 Mas l'apetit de l'amorosa fruyta
218 mogue axi la Voluntat exhemte,
219 qu'entra 'n lo ca[m]p de Venus a la luyta
220 d'un Cortesa que desdenyar intempte.
221 Y majorment perqu'era de la 'mpremta
222 de qui la te en foch d'amor ja cuyta:
223 Bellea gran, que los pus savis temta.
224 Quant veu que'l foch del fum a fet ja
flama,
225 tothom se guart, que lo veri's derrama

SPANISH

[25] Castellví (Rojos: 8. D X PC).—Emperò el deseo de la fruta amorosa movió de tal modo à la libre Voluntad (D), que se entró por el campo de Venus en demanda de un Cortesana que intenta desdeñarla (C verde), y lo hizo más aún por ostentar éste la empresa de quien en amor le abrasa: Belleza (D) grande, que à los más sabios hace caer en tentación. En cuanto vea que el fuego ha hecho llamas del humo, cada uno se guarde, porque es cuando la ponzoña se derrama.

VALENCIAN

Vinyoles - diagrama 19

(Juga lo Cavall de Dama a dos puts de Dama)

226 Bellea, vent que Voluntat s'inflama
227 contra'l Desdeny prenent sa Cortesia
228 y manaçant la Vergonyosa Fama,
229 per deffensar, ab gracia's movia;
230 y, ab son Cavall saltant, se offeria
231 a batallar contra'l camp de la Dama,
232 que ab esforç Vergonya combatia;
233 Exemple 's cert que may seguex desastre
234 al qui be sab d'aquell trobar lo rastre.

ENGLISH

Castellví - diagram 18

(The Queen takes the Knight's Pawn on the Dama's side)

However, the appetite of the amorous fruit moved in this way the free Will to enter the field of Venus in his fight of a Courtesan he tries to ignore.

Mostly because it was the affair of one who was burning in the fire of love: Great Beauty, temptress of the wisest. Seeing that fire has made a flame of smoke should alert all that poison is being poured.



Diagram 18

ENGLISH

Vinyoles - diagram 19

(Moves his Queen's Knight to two squares of the Queen)

Beauty, seeing that Will is aflame, taking her Courtesy against Disdain and threatening shameful Fame, moves for defense with respect; and, having its Knight jump, offers battle against the square of Dama who attempted to combat Shame.

This is a perfect example that disaster never follows one who senses it.

SPANISH

[26] Vinyoles (Verdes: 8. CD2D).—Viendo la Belleza (D) que la Voluntad (D roja) se in flamaba contra el Desdén (C), que se apoderaba de su Cortesia (P), y que le amenazaba su Vergonzosa fama (T), empezó à moverse con soltura, y, gracias à su Caballo saltando, se ofreció à batallar contra el campo de la Dama, que atacaba con impetu su Vergüenza (T). Este es seguro ejemplo de que nunca le ocurre desastre al que sabé prever sus causas.

VALENCIAN

Fenollar (Diu que no sia pres ni ferit lo Rey, mas que l'avisen, so es donant li sus)
235 Un'alre Ley s'enfila 'n aquest rastre:
236 que'l Rey tractat no sia com la [resta];
237 si contr'aquell se feya 'lgun empastre,
238 o si'l perill de l'enemich l'asesta,
239 avisau lo, que no'l fira ballesta;
240 axi u dispon en lo cel aquell astre
241 que l'a dotat de real sobrevesta.
242 Lo nom de Rey als enemichs aterra:
243 dels seus los bons deffen, y'ls mals desterra.

SPANISH

[27] Fenollar.—Otra condición se une à la seria: que el Rey no debe ser tratado como todo el mundo; caso de que contra él se preparase algún ardid, ó de que el enemigo le apuntara sus armas, avisenle, para que no le hiera la ballesta. Tal cosa dispone desde el cielo aquel astro, à cuya gracia debe la real investidura. El título de Rey atemoriza à los enemigos, por cuanto entre sus súbditos protege à los buenos y excluye à los malos.

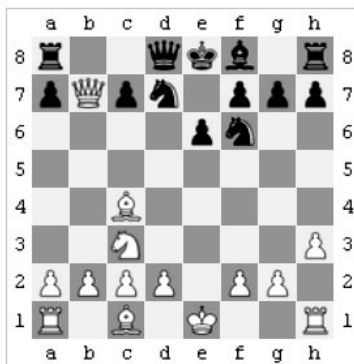


Diagram 19

ENGLISH

Fenollar

(Says that the King must not be taken or wounded, but should be advised. That is called check)

Another law that must always be followed:

The King cannot be treated like the rest.

Moving against him

or if besieged by fear from the enemy,

one should inform him before hitting him by an arrow.

So disposes in the sky that Star

that endowed him with the royal ermine.

The name of King sows dread on enemy camp:
he defends his faithful and bans the wicked.

VALENCIAN**Castellví** – diagrama 20

(Juga Cavall de Reyna a quatre de Cavall de [l'altra]Dama)

244 Rompuda ja de tot entr'ells la guerra,
245 la Reyna gran, que'l bell nom d'Amor
crida,

246 mana venir, corrent y serra,
247 hun Cavaller en aquella partida,
248 per conquistar, ab sa gent pus unida,
249 dels enemichs la Cortesa Desferra,
250 que stava mal en lo camp repartida.
251 Qui en l'asalt als primes no contrasta,
252 sy als darrers vol contrastar, no y basta.

SPANISH

[28] Castellví (Rojos: 9. C5CD).—Trabada ya por completo la lucha entre ambos bandos, la Reina (D) excelsa que proclama el hermoso nombre de "Amor", mandó venir hacia aquella parte, atravesando llanuras y montañas, a un Caballero (C), a fin de conquistar, reuniendo sus gentes, la Cortés ruina (P) del enemigo, que estaba imprudentemente diseminada por el campo. El que no logra triunfar de los primeros asaltantes, no bastará a deshacerse de los postreros, por mas que quiera.

VALENCIAN**Vinyoles** - diagrama 21

Juga Roch de Dama en la casa de l'Orfil seu)

253 Vergonya's l'or on Bellea s'encasta:
254 per ço's posa prop d'ella en l'atallaya,
255 abandonant, pus veu que Laguot guasta,
256 l'Estil Cortes, que ya d'espant
s'esmaya.

257 Car Honestat, qui be no l'atallaya,
258 reb lesio en la presona casta,
259 dexant entrar Legots dyntra la naya.
260 Be sta la por a l'oçell qu'es en vela,
261 puix que'l defen de caere dins la tela.

ENGLISH**Castellví** - diagram 20

(Plays his Queen's Knight to the fourth square of the other Dama's Knight)

Now that war has broken between them,
the great Queen, proclaiming the divine name
of Love,
commands to return to that part, crossing
plains and mountains on a horseback
for conquering and gathering her troops.
The Courtyl Defeat of the enemies
who were sorely put in the field.
If one does not counterattack at first,
if he opposes at last, will fail.

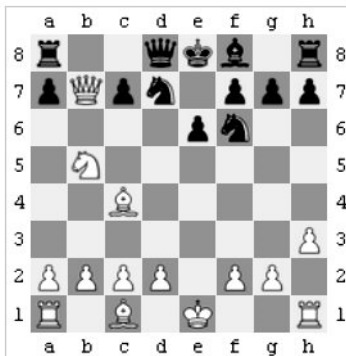


Diagram 20

ENGLISH**Vinyoles** - diagram 21

(Moves his Queen's Rook to the square of her Bishop)

Shame is the gold on which Beauty is mounted.
That's why it sits near it in the watchtower,
and abandons, seeing that the flatterer resorts
to the courtly way since he faints of terror.
For Honesty, unseen by all,
is wounded in a chaste stir
and lets the Flatterer into the passageway.
Fear is suited to a bird in danger
as it will save it from being ensnared.

SPANISH

[29] Vinyoles (Verdes: o. TIAD).—La Vergüenza (T) es el oro que sirve de engaste á la Belleza (D); por esto se coloca junto á ella en la atalaya, después de abandonar el Estilo cortés (P), que ya de espanto desmaya, al punto de ser destruído por la Lisonja (C rojo). La Honestidad (R), por más que no alcance á verlas, recibe lesión en su persona cuando deja que las Lisonjas invadan sus reducos. Bien le sirve el temor al pájaro que vuela, puesto que le guarda de caer en las redes.

VALENCIAN

Fenollar (Diu que'l Rey, puix li donen sus, se hague de levar o cobrir)
 262 Puix avisat lo Rey es sens cautela,
 263 vol altre ley que's cobre o que's mogua;
 264 en animos, l'anemich no recela:
 265 menyspreu d'aquell no vulla que li noga.
 266 Per ço, prudent, lo pas al perill cloga,
 267 que'l gran leo vengut de la mustela
 268 vem cascun jorn, si be vist real toga.
 269 Tots som eguals, en mort y en naxença:
 270 per ço equal deu esser la temença.

SPANISH

[30] Fenollar.—Ya que el Rey desprevénido debe ser avisado, prescribe otra ley que se cubra ó que se mueva; animoso, del enemigo no recela: no fuese que el desprecio- que hiciere de aquél le perjudicara. Por esto, con prudencia, cierre el paso al peligro; ya que cada día vemos que el león, aun vestido con manto real, es vencido por la comadreja. Todos iguales somos, puesto que nacemos y morimos ; asimismo deben ser iguales nuestros temores.

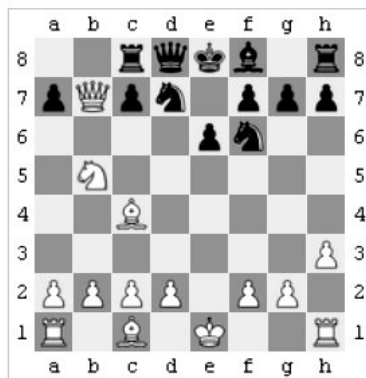


Diagram 21

ENGLISH

Fenollar (Says that the unsuspecting King must be covered or move)
 Since the unsuspecting King should be warned, another law prescribes that he must move or be covered.
 The enemy does not lack in daring: disdain of the enemy might kill him. He must thus prudently stop the advancing danger, because we see each day that the lion, even dressed in royal robes, is overcome by a weasel.
 We are all equal, in birth and death : Alike must be our fears.

VALENCIAN

Castellví - diagrama 22

(Cavall de Reyna pren lo Peo de Roch de Dama)

271 Vist com se mou Vergonya [a] fer valença
 272 a la Honor, Cortesia y Bellea,
 273 lo Cavaller, ab bona continença,
 274 sens pus reçel entra en la pelea,
 275 rompent aquell Paves de qua s'arrea,
 276 Temor de fer desonesta fallença,
 277 qu'es passio de qui la Dama·s prea.
 278 Lo vençedor, vençent, guarda com fira,
 279 car sovint venç, lo vençut, quant se gira.

SPANISH

[31] Castellví (Rojos: 10. C X PT).—Al ver cómo se apresura Vergüenza (T verde) á salir fiadora del Honor, de la Cortesía y de la Belleza (R, P y D verdes), el Caballero de brillante apostura entra sin dudar más en la pelea, destruyendo aquel Escudo (P de T verde) con que se defiende el Temor de faltar á la honestidad (T verde), que es virtud de que se precia la Dama. Mire el vencedor en qué forma hiere, porque á menudo gana el vencido, en cuanto consigue rehacerse.

VALENCIAN

Castellví - diagrama 23

(Cavall de Dama juga a tres graus de la sua linea)

280 Quant mes no pot, ab un Ultragie mira,
 281 guarda y deffen Bellea lo seu Moble,
 282 y si los seus Laor mou o regira,
 283 ella s'esta ferma, constant, ymmoble.
 284 Donchs, si lo tot es [a] la part pus noble,
 285 y semblara que for[a] el carrer tira
 286 lo seu Desdeny, segons juhi de poble,
 287 diu lo discret, quant veu fer cosa estrema:
 288 «Be sab que fa lo qui sa casa crema».

ENGLISH

Castellví - diagram 22

(His Queen's Knight takes the Rook Pawn on the Queen's side)

Seeing how Shame moves to defend her value
 To Honor, Courtesy, and Beauty,
 The Knight, having weighed his options
 and no longer restrained, enters the fray
 and breaks that protection which fear
 of dishonest failing hides behind,
 being it the Passion the Dama praises.
 The winner in winning watches hurt happen for
 often the enemy, in turning, overcomes

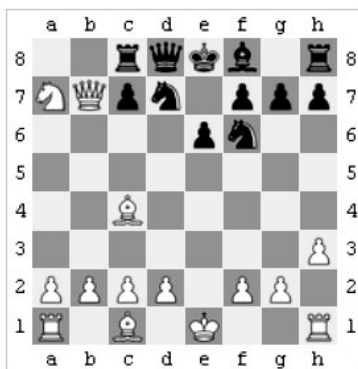


Diagram 22

ENGLISH

Vinyoles - diagram 23

(Queen's Knight moves to three squares from his line)

Beauty, when she can do no more, looks
 with outrage, keeping and defending her piece,
 and whether Praise moves or mingles his;
 Beauty remains constant, unmovable.
 For if everything is for the nobler part
 and it would seem that its Disdain shoots
 out of its way, or so the people think,
 the discreet, seeing something out of
 proportion, says:
 "He who burns his house must know what he is
 doing."

SPANISH

[32] Vinyoles (Verdes: 10. C3CD).—Cuando otra cosa no puede, Belleza (D) mira, guarda y defiende su Patrimonio (T) por medio de un Ultraje (C); y aun cuando Loor (C rojo) le remueva y confunda las huestes, ella permanece firme, constantemente impávida. Si el todo supera en nobleza á la parte, bien que en apariencia y según común sentir de las gentes sea aquello tirar el Desden (C) en medio del arroyo, dice el discreto cuando ve realizar cosa tan extrema: “¡ Bien sabrá lo que se hace, el que pega fuego á su propia casa !”

VALENCIAN

Fenollar (Diu que cascu deu jugar sa tanda e no dos tretas arreu)

289 Raho deu ser [entegra] y no sema
290 y per a tots en tot molt rahonable;
291 per ço 'n lo joch quiscu juch ab sa tema:
292 la hu primer, so que li par loable;
293 l'altre apres respongue lanç notable;
294 cascu son colp, que fir, sper o tema,
295 vagien eguals ab tanda concordable.
296 Algu no pens, gua[n]yant, passar la ralla,
297 car orde's vol servir en la batalla.

SPANISH

[33] Fenollar.—La razón debe ser completa y no razón á medias, y para todos siempre muy equitativa; por esto en el juego debe cada uno jugar cuando le corresponda: el uno, primero. lo que tenga por conveniente ; luego, el otro responda con lance feliz ; cada uno á su vez, sea que hiera, espere ó tema, marche por igual, según el turno concertado. Que no piense alguno no, aunque gane, excederse de su derecho, puesto que en la batalla se impone obedecer lo que está mandado.

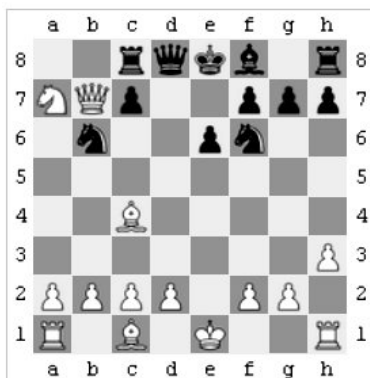


Diagram 23

ENGLISH

Fenollar (Says each player must play on his turn, not to moves)

Reason must be complete, not partial.
Most reasonable in all for everyone.
That is why in the game each player takes his turn:
The first one going for what seems laudable;
then the other responding with a notable move;
Each gets a chance to shoot, hope, or worry,
both are equal in concordant turns.
Let no one think that winning, entitles them to break this rule
Order is necessary in fighting.

VALENCIAN

Castellví - diagrama 24

(Lo Cavall pren lo Roch de Dama)

298 Lo Cavaller, rompent del tot la tralla,

299 Vergony' abat y acosta's a l'insigne

300 Bellea tant, que, ab goig y rialla,

301 en lo vert prat morir vol com lo signe.

302 E si el mor content, de mort indigne,

303 la Voluntat no deu moure baralla,

304 pus el Cavall es fet anyell benigne.

305 Tots jorns se veu morir en esta sgrima:

306 donchs, mal d'amor no's tingua 'n pocha stima.

SPANISH

[34] Castellví (Rojos: 11. C X T).—El Caballero, rompiendo por completo todo freno, derriba la Vergüenza (T verde) para acercarse tanto á la Belleza insigne (D verde), que gozoso busca morir como el cisne sobre la verde pradera. Y si muere satisfecho de tan indigno fin, la Voluntad (D) no debe moverle pendencia, supuesto que, de Caballo, tomó manso cordero. Todos los días vemos morir en lances semejantes; no se tenga, pues, el mal de amor por cosa de poca monta.

VALENCIAN

Vinyoles - diagrama 25

(Cavall de Dama pren Cavall de Reyna)

307 Havent perdut Vergonya, qu'es la çima

308 de Honestat, refragant com lo lliuri,

309 y llima fort que tota viltat llima,

310 Ultratge's mou, mes cremant que cautiri,

311 contra'l Llegot, donant li tal martiri,

312 que'l falç amarch ab son turment aprima,

313 y del suc dolç fa hun suau colliri.

314 Deffendre's deu Bellea y ser avara,

315 car tant val mes, quant mes nos costa cara.

ENGLISH

Castellví - diagram 24

(His Knight takes the Queen's Rook)

The Knight, breaking his whip,
and defeating Shame comes close to the honorable

Beauty so that with joy and a smile
he would die like a swan on a green field.

If he dies happy, with undignified death,
the Will should not open the battle,
as the Knight's horse has become a meek lamb.

One sees daily death in this fencing:

So think most of the pain of love.

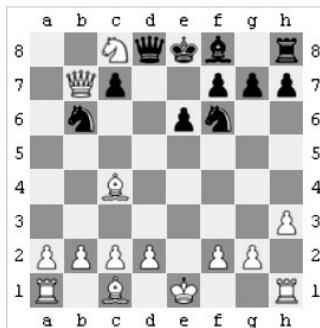


Diagram 24

ENGLISH

Vinyoles - diagram 25

(His Dama's Knight takes the Queen's Knight)

Having lost Shame, which is the culmination
of Honesty, fragrant as a lily,

a strong file to destroy all villainness,
moves Outrage, burning hotter than a
cauterizer,

against the Flatterer, giving him such torment
as to weaken with pain his false bitterness
and from such sweet potion he makes a soft
salve.

Beauty must defend herself and be watchful
for things are priced [or valued / of value / have
higher value?] the more they cost us.

SPANISH

[35] Vinyoles (Verdes: 11. C X Q.—Ya perdida la Vergüenza (T), que es el pináculo de la Honestidad (R), fragante como el lirio y lima poderosa que destruye toda vileza, se mueve á su vez el Ultraje (C), más ardiente que cauterio, contra la Lisonja (C rojo), infligiéndole tales daños, que, á fuerza de hostigarle, purifica al falso y amargo, haciendo de él dulce bálsamo, semejante á suave colirio. La Belleza (D) debe defenderse y ser avara de sus favores; porque es tanto más apreciada cuanto más cara nos cuesta.

VALENCIAN

Fenollar (Diu que no's juga llanç falç, so es Cavall per Roch, etc.)

316 Mes se pacta, si be dit no's encara,
 317 que lo poder hu de l'altre no prenga;
 318 per ço cascu pese son dret ab tara;
 319 mes del que pot lo seu peu no estenga,
 320 mas jugue just, porque l'ull no'l reprenga
 321 del mirador, car gran carrech prepara
 322 qui son Cavall per Roch vol que
 s'empenga.
 323 Lo capella no deu voler la pompa,
 324 ni'l cavaller res que honor corrompa.

SPANISH

[36] Fenollar.—Pactado está, además, aun cuando no se haya dicho todavía, que no debe uno atribuirse las prerrogativas de otro; por lo tanto, pese cada cual sus derechos con la consiguiente merma, y, más de lo que pueda, no adelante su pie. Juegue con precisión, para que á la vista del espectador no sea reprehensible; pues en grave responsabilidad incurre el que quiere que su Caballo empuje como la Torre. El sacerdote no debe desear la pompa vana; ni el Caballero cosa alguna que empañe el honor.

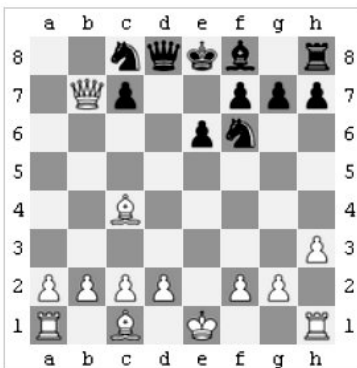


Diagram 25

ENGLISH

Fenollar (Says no false step is made, such as a Knight for a Rook etc.)

A pact is better, even if I have not said it before,
 that one cannot steal the power of another;
 thus each must calculate his power with its tare;
 Do not move beyond your rightful place.
 Rather play just, so that the viewer's eye
 is not offensive. An exciting race is planned
 if you would change your Knight for a Rook.
 A priest should shun all pomp
 and so should the Knight do with anything
 against his honor.

SPANISH

[38] Vinyoles (Verdes: 12. C3D).—La Reina. viendo que la Voluntad (D roja) no presta compañía ó apoyo al Servicio (P rojo) que le otorga, envió un fuerte Desdén (C), de extraña vista, para desbaratar la celada que descubría, y, sobre todo, porque se proponía y confiaba, por este medio, evadir la nueva compañía del Pensamiento (A rojo) y aun la que ya le hacía el Querer (D roja). Cuando el enemigo simula una desbandada, huíd asimismo, porque el artificio con artificio se descubre.

VALENCIAN

Fenollar (Diu que: l Peo no puga passar sens batalla)

343 Edicte bell anadint, se pregona
344 que lo Peo, contra l Peo si juga,
345 deu batallar persona per presona,
346 e, altrament, passar de llarch no puga.
347 Mas, si aquell s'esta 'b lanca fexuga,
348 que pas avant, pus l'altre l'abandona,
349 e prengue sforç, que 'n millor port lo duga.
350 Los cavallers per la honor s'aturen,
351 mas los vilans per força s'aseguren.

SPANISH

[39] Fenollar.—Edicto muy bello es el que ahora se añade : por él se prescribe que, si el Peón juega contra el Peón, debe luchar cuerpo à cuerpo, sin que pueda pasar de largo. Más si el otro tiene la marcha tardía, siga él su camino, ya que aquél se lo abandona, y tome impulso que á mejor fin le conduzca. Los caballeros por pundonor se detienen ; pero los villanos solo por la fuerza están seguros.



Diagram 27

ENGLISH

Fenollar (Says the Pawn can go no further without battle)

Adding an elegant edict, as it is ordered that the Pawn, should he play against Pawn, must do battle, body against body, otherwise he cannot go further. However, if he stands with delayed progress, ahead he goes, as the other one quits and lets him take effort to be carried to improving port. Knights are reined back by honor, but villains are stopped only by force.

VALENCIAN

Castellví - diagrama 28

(Orfil de Rey, a quatre cases del Cavall de l'altre Dama, dona sus al Rey)

352 Los Pensaments, que renyen y murmuren
 353 vent desigiar la Voluntat y obres,
 354 importunant la Honestat, conjuren
 355 per no restar desfavorits y pobres,
 356 aquestos son los mestres y manobres
 357 que tots los mals y contraris apuren,
 358 y de la lum d'amor son canalobres.
 359 Qui vol cuytar, avolotat, la cassa,
 360 o res no pren, o cau, o s'enbarassa

SPANISH

[40] Castellví (Rojos: 13. A5CD†).—Los Pensamientos (A), que regañan y murmuran al ver los afanes de la Voluntad (D), y conjuran actos que importunen el Honor (R verde), para no quedar ellos deslucidos y oscuros, son como los maestros y los albañiles, que reparan toda clase de desperfectos y contrariedades, y son candelabros de la amorosa luz. Quien, impaciente; quiere activar la caza, ó cae ó se atasca, sin cobrar la pieza.

VALENCIAN

Vinyoles - diagrama 29

(Cavall de Dama pren Orfil de Rey, a quatre de la Sua línia)

361 L'Ultrajos Gest, vent que'l Penser
 menasçe
 362 la Honestat, forçant la fort que's leve,
 363 deslibera voler morir en plaça,
 364 ans que d'Onor mal Pensament s'ençeve;
 365 donant raho que, tostemps que se lleve
 366 algun falç crim, remoure no la faça,
 367 puix veritat de culpa la relleve.
 368 Diu lo refrany: «Qui sa lo dit se lliga,
 369 puix mal no te, sanament lo deslliga».

ENGLISH

Castellví - diagram 28

(His King's Bishop moves to four squares of the other Queen's Knight and checks the King)

Thoughts that nag and mutter
 As they see Will's desire and works
 importuning Honesty, they plot,
 so as not to stay disfavored and needy.
 These are the masters and apprentices
 to end all opposed ills;
 they are the sponges of the light of love.
 One who would hunt in haste
 or falls or gets stuck, without charging the
 piece.

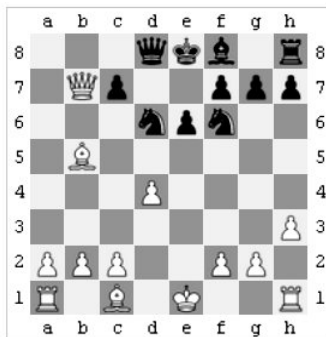


Diagram 28

ENGLISH

Vinyoles - diagram 29

(His Dama's Knight takes the King's Bishop to four spaces from his line)

Outraged Gesture, seeing that Thought
 threatens
 Honesty, much forcing to go away,
 delivers and is ready to die in the fray
 determined to find death in the battlefield,
 before an evil Thought is conceived of Honor;
 Stating that whenever a terrible crime is done,
 it should not remove it one bit
 since truth relieves it from guilt.
 The saying goes: "He who bandages a healthy
 finger
 not being ill, can healthily unbandage it."

SPANISH

[41] Vinyoles (Verdes: 13 C X A).—El Ultrajador ademán (C), viendo que el Pensamiento (A rojo) amenaza la Honestidad (R) forzándola mucho á que se aleje, determino hallar la muerte en el campo de batalla, antes de permitir que el mal Pensamiento (A rojo) se cebara en el Honor (R) ; dando à entender que, siempre que á éste se le acuse de supuesta falta, nadie le haga retirarse, después que la verdad le haya relevado de culpa. Dice el refrán: "Quien se ata el dedo sano, pues no tiene mal, sano lo desata."

VALENCIAN

Fenollar - (Rey ab Rey no puxen combatre)
 370 Servar se deu un'altre ley antiga:
 371 que Rey ab Rey james puguen combatre,
 372 mas cascu d'ells entre los seus estigue,
 373 perque los caps no deuen may debatir.
 374 Dels altres es lo ferir y'l rebatre;
 375 d'ells l'ordonar; que'l Rey, manant que stiga
 376 los seus, ab qui fals enemichs abatir.
 377 Acte 's servil, no de reals petjades,
 378 com. a moltons jugar Reys a toçades.

SPANISH

[42] Fenollar.—Guardada debe ser otra antigua ley: que los Reyes entre sí no pueden nunca combatir, sino que cada uno ha de permanecer entre sus gentes. Los jefes jamás deben luchar. A los otros atañe el atacar y el repeler; á ellos solo les incumbe el dar órdenes. El Rey debe permanecer entre sus huestes, con cuyo auxilio hace humillar al enemigo. Es acto plebeyo é impropio de regias plantas jugar los reyes á topetazos, como los cameros.



Diagram 29

ENGLISH

Fenollar - (King cannot combat King directly)
 Another ancient law must be observed::
 That King may never combat another King,,
 but rather each must stay near his men
 because heads must never discuss.
 For others are hitting and defending
 in their good quality, the King must quietly
 command his hosts to overcome his foes.
 A servile act, unworthy of royal pride,
 is like two rams locking their horns.

VALENCIAN

Castellví - diagrama 30

(La Reyna pren lo Cavall de la Dama, que stava a quatre del matex, y dona sus)
 379 La Voluntat, vist que tantes vegades
 380 cruel Desdeny cruelment la guareja,
 381 per a tallar les sues enconrades,
 382 ab gran menyspreu lo condemna y bandeja,
 383 e la Honor stretament festeja,
 384 requirint la, sens moltes embaxades,
 385 que's vulla dar a qui tant la sedeja.
 386 De tot se deu aydar lo qui vol cloure:
 387 parlar, obrar, tronar, lampar y ploure.

SPANISH

[43] Castellví (Rojos: 14. D X C†).—Al considerar la Voluntad (D) cuántas veces ya el cruel Desdén (C verde) la ha perjudicado, á fin de atajar sus correrías, le condena y separa con grande enojo, festejando con insistencia a la Honestidad (R), requiriéndola sin ambages para que se rinda á quien tanto la asedia. De todo debe servirse el que ansía poseer : palabras, actos, truenos, relámpagos y lluvia.

VALENCIAN

Vinyoles - diagrama 31

(Lo Rey se cobre del Cavall, a dos punts de Dama)
 388 L'autoritat real nunque's deu moure,
 389 sino per cas molt gran y necessari:
 390 axi Honor se deslibera encloure,
 391 Desdenyant molt l'intent de l'adversari.
 392 De tal servir aquest es lo salari,
 393 car lo Cortes Estil poria noure
 394 en tal trespas, y ser li molt contrari.
 395 En joch estret, la cortesia cessa
 396 la gravitat y pompa, en la pressa.

ENGLISH

Castellví - diagram 30

(His Queen takes the Dama's Knight, who was at four places from his seat, and checks)
 Will, considering that so many times
 cruel Disdain cruelly lies it fallow,
 in order to provide an end to its charges,
 disdainfully condemns and banishes it,
 while Honor can perform directly
 And confronting it, without a need for a truce,
 to one who has so besieged her.
 One who thirsts for an ending must
 seek advice by word, deed, thunder, lightning,
 and rain.

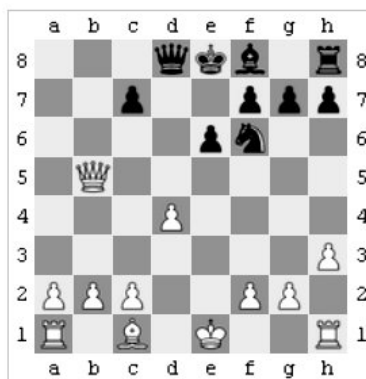


Diagram 30

ENGLISH

Vinyoles - diagram 31

(His King is covered by his Knight, two squares from the Queen)
 The royal government must never leave,
 unless the situation is awful and inevitable.
 Thus Honor decides to enclose,
 disdaining the enemy's attempt
 of such service, this is paying,
 for a courtly style could evolve
 in such fortune, and become against him.
 In such dire straits courtesy stops
 gravity and majesty in its rapid flight.

SPANISH

[44] Vinyoles (Verdes: 14. C2D).—La autoridad real jamás debe manifestarse, sino en caso de extrema necesidad: por esto Honor (R) decidió fortificarse, desdeñando [con el Desdén (C)] las intenciones del adversario. Tal es el pago que se otorga á semejante manera de servir, puesto que hacer uso del Estilo cortés (P verde) más podría perjudicar en aquel trance y resultaría contraproducente. En juego de tan gran compromiso la cortesía cesa, y la gravedad y pompa son dejadas á un lado, por la premura de las circunstancias.

VALENCIAN

Fenollar - (Diu lo mat offegat)

397 Si, asetjat per mala sort revessa,
398 lo Rey sera, y tota sa poxañça
399 ensemps ab ell, volem, per ley expressa,
400 que muyra trist, pus no spera bonança;
401 car la real corona y ordonança
402 presupon molt la libertat excessa,
403 e, si la pert, pert tota sa sperança.
404 La dignitat a l'anima 's unida,
405 e la honor viu molt mes que la vida.

SPANISH

[45] Fenollar.—Si el Rey, por suerte adversa, se encontrara sitiado con todo su poder, queremos por ley expresa que muera tristemente, ya que no le espera mejor suerte; porque la corona y autoridad reales reclaman libertad absoluta, y, si la pierden, pierden con ella toda esperanza. La dignidad debe ser virtud inseparable del alma; y el honor dura más allá de la vida.

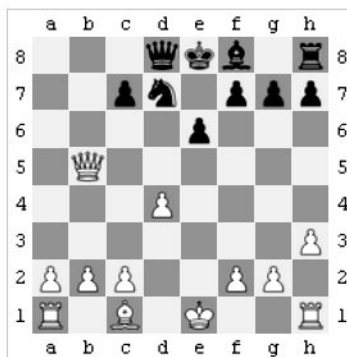


Diagram 31

ENGLISH

Fenollar - (Says check mate is nigh)

If the King is assailed by unfortunate luck
with all his power with him,
we want, by clear law,
to see him die in despair as no clearing is
expected.
For the royal crown and leadership
presupposes excess of freedom.
And should he lose it, all hope is also lost.
Dignity is bonded to the soul,
and honor always outlives life.

VALENCIAN**Castellví** – diagrama 32

(Juga lo Peo de la Reyna a quatre punts de l'altre Reyna)

406 Perque tostemps Bellea fos servida,
 407 lo bon Voler, no curant de l'Ultragie,
 408 mana passar ab amor infinida
 409 lo seu Servey, qu'es hun gracios patge.
 410 Lo qual, donant de grat tot avantagic,
 411 ab gest humil Cortesia convida
 412 que prenga d'ell la vida per pontagic.
 413 Humilitat aleuja, purga y placa
 414 dos cors ensemps de molt diversa taca.

SPANISH

[46] Castellví (Rojos: 15. P5D).—Para que la Belleza (D verde) fuese en todo complacida, el buen Querer (D), olvidando el Ultraje (C verde) y movido de infinito amor, hace avanzar su Servicio (P de D), que es un apuesto paje; quien. renunciando gustoso à toda preeminencia, invita con gesto humilde á la Cortesía (P de R verde) á que tome su vida por pontazgo. La humildad alivia, purifica y desenoja á la vez dos corazones muy diversamente afectados.

VALENCIAN**Vinyoles** - diagrama 33

(Lo Peo del Rey, a quatre punts de la sua o pren lo Peo de l'altre Dama)

415 Lo Cortesa que te la bossa flacha,
 416 lo donatiu en nengun temps rebuja,
 417 o, si u ha fet, tostemps lo cor li'n racha
 418 per l'apetit, qu'es sech y vol la pluja.
 419 Y axí, tantost lo pren, que no li fuja,
 420 per fer castell de sa xica barracha;
 421 mas quant li fall, mes agrament s'anuja.
 422 Qui pren, cove que 'n lo tornar ell pense,
 423 car, forçant grat, es força que u compense

ENGLISH**Castellví** - diagram 32

(Moves his Queen's Pawn to four squares from the other Queen)

So that Beauty may ever be served,
 good Will, unconscious of Outrage,
 commands with infinite love the progress
 of his Service, who is an elegant page.
 He, allowing all benefit,
 with modest mien invites Courtesy
 to take his life as taxation.
 It is Humility that will lighten, purge, and
 placate
 two hearts together, even if quite diverse in
 nature.

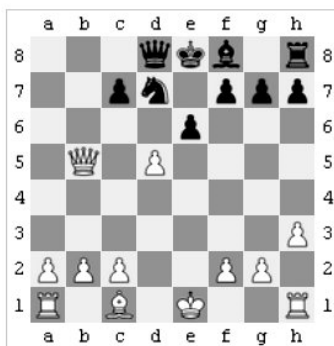


Diagram 32

ENGLISH**Vinyoles** - diagram 33

(His King's Pawn moves to take the Pawn of the other Dama)

Courtesy has but a weak purse,
 and will never turn away a gift.
 Or, if it did rebuff, his heart will ever pine
 for appetite which is dry and thirsts for rain.
 And so, as soon as taken, it will not budge
 and will build a fortress out of a wee shack,
 but when it fails, he rues it more sternly.
 One who takes must think of a refund.
 For forcing ease it will be forced to
 compensate.

SPANISH

[47] Vinyoles (Verdes: 15. P X P).— El Cortesana (P) de escasa bolsa jamás esquivia la dádiva, y, caso de hacerlo, siempre el corazón se lo reprocha. porque su apetito, á fuer de enjuto, desea la lluvia. Y así al punto lo coge (al P rojo) para que no se le escape, pensando convertir en Castillo su cabaña exigua; mas en cuanto le falta, mayor es su contrariedad. El que recibe, debe atender á lo que se obliga; porque, aun á su pesar, es forzoso que dé la compensación.

VALENCIAN

Fenollar - (Diu lo mat robat)

424 Si'l Rey no te ya pus gent que'l defense,
425 e sos vassalls haura tan mal defesos,
426 done's llavors, pus fortune dispense
427 que reste sol, los seus essent ja presos;
428 que Reys sens gent, per Reys no son
admesos;

429 mas bon confort ab virtut recompense
430 los fats cruels que'ls han tant fort
compresos.

431 Al Rey y als seus deu tostemps la fortuna,
432 en mal y be, a tots esser comuna.

SPANISH

[48] Fenollar.—Si el Rey no cuenta ya con gente que le defienda, porque él haya guardado tan mal á sus vasallos, entréguese á su vez, á fin de que la suerte no le obligue á quedar solo, por haber caído toda su gente prisionera. Los Reyes sin súbditos no son tales Reyes; empero el ánimo esforzado y la virtud les recompensaran de los hados crueles, que tanta angustia les han causado. Siempre una suerte común, adversa ó favorable, debe unir al Rey y á los suyos.

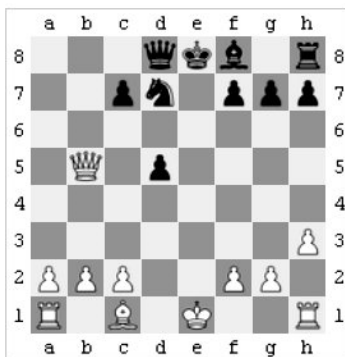


Diagram 33

ENGLISH

Fenollar - (Speaks about mate)

Lacking the King people to defend him
as his vassals have protected him so badly,
he must then as circumstances declare,
remain alone as his people have all been taken.
A King without men cannot be thought a King.
However, talent will compensate with serenity
The cruel fate that has been pressed on him.
In evil and in good must ever fortune
be shared by King and men and all.

VALENCIAN**Castellví** – diagrama 34

(L'Orfil de Dama juga a tres cases de Rey)

433 Per ajustar tot son esforç en una,
 434 la Voluntat son Pensament preposa
 435 devant Raho, no fent stima 'lguna
 436 de res perdut, Serveys ni altre cosa;
 437 dextant lo test y fundant se 'n la glosa,
 438 sol per servir aquella, sola una,
 439 que la Honor a presa per esposa.
 440 Si bon voler imagic d'amor pinta,
 441 vida ni mort james no la despinta.

SPANISH

[49] Castellví (Rojos: 16. A3R).—Para aunar todo su esfuerzo á un solo fin, la Voluntad (D) antepone su Pensamiento (A) á la Razón (R), no dando valor alguno á sus pérdidas en Servicios (P) y otras cosas; prescinde del texto y se atiene á la glosa, con el único fin de servir á aquella, sola y única (D verde), que se ha desposado con el Honor (R verde). Si el bienquerer traza una visión de amor, ni la vida ni la muerte son capaces de borrarla.

VALENCIAN**Vinyoles** - diagrama 35

(L'Orfil de Rey juga a tres cases de la Dama)

442 La Dama diu, cantant ab veu distincta:
 443 «Vetla, Honor!» mirant fasen la guarda
 444 los Hulls; legint d'amor vermella tinta
 445 desperts vallant, que l'ora par ja tarda,
 446 talleyan se, car ialayan se guarde
 447 Bellea gran, seny[i]nt se de tal cinta,
 448 que puga star segura 'n la reguarde.
 449 Aquest combat se venç de tal manera,
 450 que'l vençedor fuig i'l vençut spera.

ENGLISH**Castellví** - diagram 34

(Plays his Dama's Bishop to three squares from the King)

In order to convert all his efforts in one,
 Will precedes its Thought
 before Reason, not caring a bit
 if something is lost, like Services, or anything else.

Leaving the texts and relying on the gloss
 it will serve that time, just once,
 whom Honor has taken as spouse.
 If a good Will paints a picture of love,
 It will never be undone by either life or death.



Diagrama 34

ENGLISH**Vinyoles** - diagram 35

(Plays his King's Bishop to three squares of the Dama)

The Dama says as her distinctive voice sings:
 "Be vigilant, Honor!" As she sees that the
 guard kept
 by the Eyes; reading the red ink of love
 they remain alert, for the hour seems late;
 in such a way and with such vigilance guarded
 Great Beauty, girding itself with such sash,
 that her reputation may be assured.
 This combat is won in such way
 that the victor flees and the loser waits.

SPANISH

[50] Vinyoles (Verdes: 16. A3D).—Dice la Dama, cantando con clara voz : " ¡Alerta, Honor!" (R), cuidando de que los Ojos (A) le hagan guardia. Leyendo roja tinta de amor, despiertos y en vela, en aquella hora, ya tarde al parecer, ataláyanse, porque con tales atalayas se guarde la gran Belleza (D), ciñéndose de tal defensa que pueda permanecer segura en la retaguardia. Son estos un combatir y un modo de vencer tales, que el vencedor huye y el vencido permanece esperando.

VALENCIAN

Fenollar - (Lo mat comu)

451 Altre decret corroborant advera
452 que, si lo Rey no te on se retraga,
453 ni qui·l cobris, e l'anamich prospera
454 tant, que·l pora ferir de mortal plaga,
455 morint aquell, dara son cors per paga,
456 y·l poble seu caura, sense bandera,
457 en servitut, puix vida l'afalaga:
458 que 'n los perills de la batalla 'marga
459 mes defen l'ull que no cobre l'adarga.

SPANISH

[51] Fenollar.—Otro decreto establece y confirma que si el Rey no tuviese adónde retirarse ni quién le cubriera, y, por su parte, el enemigo progresase tanto que pudiera mortalmente herirle, al morir aquél, dará su cadáver como trofeo, y su pueblo, privado de estandarte, quedará en cautiverio, si la vida aún le halaga. Que contra los peligros de una guerra cruenta, más defiende la vista que protege la adarga.



Diagram 35

ENGLISH

Fenollar - (The common check)

Another corroborating law advises that if the King should have no place to retreat, or anyone to protect him, as his enemy prospers to the point that he might be fatally wounded, as he dies, he will give his body as payment. Thereafter his people will fall bannerless Into slavery if he would gratify his own life: In the perils of the bitter battle more is saved by the eye than covered by the shield.

VALENCIAN

Castellví - diagrama 36

(Juga lo Roch del Rey en la casa de la Dama)

460 Vist que tant fort la Bellea s'adarga,

461 privacio, movent l'apetit, causa

462 que lo Desig exint se desembarga

463 [e] pren lo loch de Voluntat per pausa.

464 Voler l'empeny, mas delit es la causa

465 final d'aquell, y si la fi s'allarga,

466 la su'ardor may cessa ny may pausa.

467 Tot moviment se mou, d'algun defecte

468 fins arribar al desijat conspecte.

SPANISH

[52] Castellví (Rojos: 17. T1D).—Al ver que la Belleza (D verde) se escuda tan fuertemente, el afán que mueve el apetito es causa de que el Deseo (T) se ponga al descubierto y se posesione del lugar de la Voluntad (D). El querer le empuja, más el placer es el objetivo supremo de aquél; y si el fin se retarda, no por ello su ardor cesa ni amengua. Toda acción es hija de algún anhelo y tiene por objeto llegar a la presencia deseada.

VALENCIAN

Vinyoles - diagrama 37

(La Dama a tres juga de Orfil de Rey)

469 Principiant Desig en son effecte,

470 vengue al loch on Voluntat solia

471 liberta star, porque per camí recte

472 tirar pogues on la Bellea-l guíu;

473 la qual, ab lum de gracia's metia

474 en lo terç grau del Delitos Aspecte

475 de la Honor, que 'n p[er]ill concistia.

476 Bellea deu de virtuts esmaltar se,

477 si en lo mon de tots vol adorar se.

ENGLISH

Castellví - diagram 36

(Plays his King's Rook to the square of the Dama)

Seeing Beauty protect herself so strongly,

Privation, as it moves the appetite, causes

Desire to free itself and find out

to take the place of Will.

He has prodded by wanting, but joy is his

final objective, and if the target's delayed,

his ardor may stop and take rest.

All movement moves with some defects

until arriving at its desired goal.



Diagram 36

ENGLISH

Vinyoles - diagram 37

(His Dama moves to three squares from the King's Bishop)

As Desire begins in his effect,

let him come to the scene where Will

used to be free because a straight approach

could lead to where Beauty guides.

And Beauty, with awareness of grace,

entered the third level of the Delightful Aspect

Of Honor, which always involves risk.

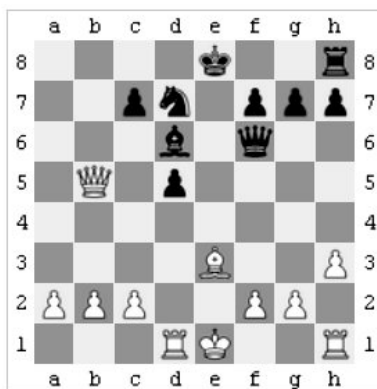
Beauty must protect itself with integrity

If it is to find glory in the world.

[53] Vinyoles (Verdes: 17. D3AR).—Dando comienzo el Deseo (T roja) á sus intentos, vino al sitio donde la Voluntad (D roja) solia permanecer libremente, á fin de poder continuar por camino recto hacia donde le atrae la Belleza (D). Mas ésta, iluminada por la gracia, se trasladó al tercer grado del Aspecto delicioso del Honor (A de R), que era quien permanecía en peligro. La Belleza (D) debe esmaltarse de virtudes, si en el mundo quiere ser venerada por todos.

Fenollar - (Diu que la Reyna vagie axi com
tots, sino Cavall)
478 Mas nostre joch de nou vol enremar se
479 de stil novell e strany a qui be'l mira,
480 prenent lo pom, lo cepr'e la cadira.
481 car, sobretot, la Reyna fa honrar se.
482 Donchs, puix que diu que mes val e mes
tira,
483 per tot lo camp pot mol be passegar se,
484 mas torçe no, per temor ni per ira.
485 Quant mes se veu la libertat altiva,
486 mes tembre deu de caure may cativa.

[54] Fenollar.—Pero nuestro juego quiere todavía adornarse, con un nuevo estilo excepcional para quien bien lo considere: pues, principalmente, realiza la dignidad de la Reina, otorgándole la espada, el cetro y el solio. Así, puesto que se dice que es ella quien más vale y mas alcanza, pueda pasear muy bien por todo el campo, empero sin desviarse por miedo ó enojo. Cuanto más en auge se vea la libertad, mas debe temer el ser reducida á cautiverio.

**ENGLISH**

Fenollar - (I say that the Queen shall have the
moves of all the pieces save the knight)
But our game still wants to adorn itself
With a new and surprising style
As she is given the sword, the sceptre and the
throne.
For mainly the Queens dignity is enhanced,
Therefore, since it is said that she is the most
worthy one and the most achieving,
may she stroll with ease through the entire
field,
albeit without strying, for fear or anger.
The greater her freedom,
the more she should fear being made captive

VALENCIAN**Castellví** - diagrama 38

(Lo Roch del Rey pren lo Peo de la Dama)

487 Mirant que ja la Dama no s'esquiva,

488 lo bon Desig de Cortesia's çeva,

489 ten inflammat de un'ardor tan viva,

490 que'l bosch pus vert vol tot cremar sens treva;

491 car [de] treball esperança'l relleva,

492 qu'es hun delit que les forces aviva,

493 de llegea ffi fent Voluntat hereva.

494 Lo foch d'amor vol molt verda la lenya:

495 si secha es, quan mes s'ensen, mes renya.

SPANISH

[55] Castellví (Rojos: 18. T X P).—

Considerando que ya la Dama no se esquiva, el buen Deseo (T) se ceba en la Cortesia (P), inflamado de tan viva llama, que sin tregua amenaza destruir el bosque mas lozano; porque la esperanza le vuelve llevadero todo trabajo, siendo ella como leite que hace revivir las fuerzas, instituyendo à la Voluntad (D) heredera de tristes destinos. El fuego de amor pide la leña muy verde: si la halla seca, cuanto más se enciende más chisporrotea.

VALENCIAN**Vinyoles** - diagrama 39

(Juga la Dama a tres de Cavall del seu Rey)

496 Portant esforç Bellea per ensenya

497 per castigar los Serveys enganosos,

498 mes se davant lo Desdeny que desdenya:

499 pert lo d'Onor los grats cubdiciosos,

500 car los combats d'amor, quan graciosos

501 tiren los colps, qual sera de penya

502 que prest no do als actes delitosos?

503 Mes val hun no de la persona casta

504 que quant lo si del vici donar basta.

ENGLISH**Castellví** - diagram 38

(His King's Rook takes the Dama's Pawn)

Seeing that the Queen is not shunning,

the good Desire of Courtesy acts,

inflamed with such intense ardor

that the greenest forest might burn without respite.

For hope delivers him from the drudgery,

a pleasure to refresh one's forces,

that is making Will the heir to sad destinations.

The fire of love calls for green wood:

If it is dry, the more it burns, the more it sours.



Diagram 38

ENGLISH**Vinyoles** - diagram 39

(Plays his Dama to three squares of the Knight of her King)

Beauty carrying effort as a guide

to punish the dishonest Services

moved to face the disdainful Disdain:

Lost to him the greedy enjoyments of Honor,

for the combats of love if graceful,

Shooting their knocking like rocks

Will not give in to divine acts?

Better a no from a chaste one

Than a yes coming from a vicious one.

SPANISH

[56] Vinyoles (Verdes: 18. D3CR).—La Belleza (D), arbolando enseña de esfuerzo para castigar los Servicios (P rojos) engañosos, antepúsose al Desdén (C), que se muestra indiferente: pierden á éste los goces codiciosos del Honor (R). Porque, ¿quién será tan insensible, en los combates de amor, ante los ataques de la gentileza, que no ceda en breve à las prácticas del deleite? Vale más una negativa de la persona casta que cuantas concesiones baste á hacer el vicio.

VALENCIAN

Fenollar - (Lo Peo no puga muntar a Dama, ni hague pus d'una Dama)

505 Y si·ls antichs, per auçmentar la casta,
506 sens altre sguart de ley ni de justicia,
507 de baixa sanch y de vilana pasta
508 consenten fer mil Reynes per malicia,
509 dien les leys d'amorosa malicia,
510 que·l dyamant en For pus fi s'encasta,
511 y en hun encast relluu ab gran claricia.
512 L'amant e fel sol d'una s'anamora;
513 l'ingrat infel les ydoles adora.

SPANISH

[57] Fenollar.—Y por más que los antiguos, sin otro principio legal ó de justicia que el aumento del linaje, consienten maliciosamente que de baja sangre y condición villana salgan Reinas mil, quieren las leyes de amorosa caballería que el diamante tenga por engaste el oro de mas quilates, y, engastado así, luzca con mayor claridad. El fiel amante solo se enamora de una dama; el in fiel é ingrato rinde culto á toda especie de ídolos.



Diagram 39

ENGLISH

Fenollar - The pawn cannot be promoted to Queen, let there be but one Queen.
And though the elders maliciously allow a thousand Queens to rise from low blood and common stock,
the laws of loving chivalry say that a diamond should be mounted on the finest gold,
and when it is so mounted, it sparkles with great brightness.
The faithful lover only falls in love with one lady;
the ingrate and unfaithful one adores all idols.

VALENCIAN

Castellví - diagrama 40

(Juga Orfil de Reyna a quatre punts de l'Orfil del seu Rey)

514 La Voluntat, que·ls Dolços Hulls honora
515 y·l delicat mirar, mirant, postilla,
516 son Pensament remunta y anemora
517 en dret d'aquells hon viv'amor centilla,
518 e, per l'ardor que pren y trau, destilla
519 liquor dels seus, que·l cor se n'entrenyora
520 ab los reports, que 'n lo seu cap vacilla.
521 Amor es un que per los hulls s'enllaça,
522 mas, si s'estreny, la par[t] y·l tot man[a]ça.

SPANISH

[58] Castellví (Rojos: 19. A4AR).—La Voluntad (D), que respeta los Dulces ojos (A verde) y corresponde con su mirada al delicado mirar de aquéllos, les eleva su enamorado Pensamiento (A), centelleante de intensa pasión; y por el ardor que recibe y lanza de sí, destila de sus propios ojos el bálsamo con que el corazón se conduce de los excesos de la cabeza insegura. Amor es tal, que empieza por los ojos; mas, si aumenta, amenaza hacerse con el santo y la limosna.

VALENCIAN

Vinyoles - diagrama 41

(L'Orfil del Rey pren l'Orfil de la Reyna a quatre de la linea d'Orfil del Rey)

523 Lo Pensament, que·l Dolç Esguart açaça,
524 en contr'aquell metent se 'n so de brega,
525 fon pres y mort, perque pus mal no faça
526 ni faça fer a la Voluntat cega;
527 que tant s'empeny quant ansia la 'nsega,
528 que·ls bens d'Onor enfrasca y embarasça,
529 y·ls espirits lavant li [lo] offega.
530 Honor viu tant quant Voluntat comporta;
531 de bens y mals sols ella es la porta.

ENGLISH

Castellví - diagram 40

(Plays his Queen's Bishop to four squares of his King's Bishop)

Will, respecting the sweet eyes
and delicate gaze, as it looks, moves quickly;
its Thought surmounts and remembers
by the right of those in whom living love
sparkles;

By ardor that takes and leaves, it distills
liquor from his to soften his heart
with the reports tumbling within his head.
Love is one that engages through the eyes,
but if it constrains, the part and the body are
menaced.



Diagram 40

ENGLISH

Vinyoles - diagram 41

(His King's Bishop takes the Queen's Bishop at four squares from the line of the King's Bishop)

Thought, always pursuing Sweet Regard,
setting itself to fight the first,
was taken and killed so it could not cause any
more damage,
nor turn his Will thoroughly blind;
For one who tries so hard besieged by desire
to the time of bottling up the effects of Honor
And drowning his spirits right in front.
Honor will live as Will will allow,
because Will is the only door to good and bad.

SPANISH

[59] Vinyoles (Verdes : 19. A X A.—El Pensamiento (A rojo), que acecha al Dulce mirar (A), entrando contra éste en son de batalla, es preso y sacrificado, para que no cause nuevos danos ni los haga producir á la Voluntad (D) ciega; ésta arremete con tan irreflexivo ímpetu, que los bienes de Honor (R) se hallan por ella embarazosamente en peligro, y á él mismo le ahoga, privándole de los sentidos. El Honor vive lo que la Voluntad le permite vivir, puesto que ella sola es la puerta de todo bien y de todo mal.

VALENCIAN

Fenollar - (Que les Reynes no-s puguen pendre la una ab l'altre)
532 Puix nostre stil tot lo poder transporta
533 dels Reys amant[s] a les Reynes amades,
534 com entre Reys ferir se no-s comporta,
535 seran tanbe les Reynes atrevades;
536 mas puguen ser dels altres guerrejades,
537 y pendre les, si no porten escorta:
538 sols en aço romanen limitades.
539 Per ço diu be la ley de nostre escola
540 que no den may la Dama restar sola.

SPANISH

[60] Fenollar.—Puesto que, según nuestro estilo, todo el poder de los Reyes amadores se transfiere á las Reinas bien amadas, y ya que no es permitido á los Reyes atacarse, considérense igualmente en tregua las Reinas. Podrán éstas, con todo, ser combatidas por quienquiera, y aun ser tomadas si no llevaren escolta: solo en esto se ven limitadas sus prerrogativas. Así dice bien la regla de nuestra escuela, que la Dama no debe nunca quedar sola.



Diagram 41

ENGLISH

Fenollar - (The Queens should not take themselves)
Since, according to our style, all the power of the loving Kings is transferred to the beloved Queens,
and since Kings are not allowed to attack one another, so let the Queens have a truce. Nonetheless, they can be engaged by anyone and even be captured if they are unescorted: this is the only limitation to their capabilities. So, the rules of our school properly state that the Queen must never be left alone.

VALENCIAN

Castellví - diagrama 42

(La Reyna pren lo Cavall de Dama a dos punts de Dama, donant sus al Rey)

541 Lo bon Valer gens no s' desaconsola
542 del Pensament despes en tal article,
543 mas, ab esforç del Desig, tria y yola
544 contra'l Desdeny qu'es d'Onestat menicle;
545 lo qual, lançant pus clara que'l vericle
546 la veu, tantost que s'espanta y tremola
547 de veure'l Grat ya dins son episticle.
548 Perfeccio de la fi pren la forma;
549 per ço l'amor del be que vol s'informa.

SPANISH

[61] Castellví (Rojos: 20. D X C†).—El buen Querer (D) 110 se desazona por el Pensamiento (A), que se ha perdido en tal aventura, sino que, apoyado en la fuerza del Deseo (T), se decide y vuela contra el Desdén (C verde), que es adminículo de la Honestidad (R verde). Esta exhala más clara que cristalino viril su queja, y tiembla atemorizada ante el Querer (D), que entró en su vestíbulo. La perfección adquiere del fin su forma, y, por lo mismo, el amor se informa en el bien codiciado.

VALENCIAN

Vinyoles - diagrama 43

(Lo Rey se aparta en la casa del seu Orfil)

550 La Honestat ab tals paraules forma
550 sa gran clamor, cridant: «O, Venus alta!
552 Puix ta virtud la mia no refforma
553 y'l teu socors en aquest punt me falta,
554 lo meu poder Valer lo desesmalta;
555 y vist que'l teu ab mi ya no s' conforma,
556 fugint quant pot la mia Virtut salta».
557 Si tals espants als Reys prou no convenen,
558 son naturals, y'l seu esser sostenen

ENGLISH

Castellví - diagram 42

(The Queen takes the other Queen's Knight to two squares from said Queen, and checks the King)

Good Will finds no discomfort from Thought spent in such a story, but with an effort from Desire it chooses and fights against Disdain, the support of Honesty. And Disdain, raising its voice clearer than male, it now frets and trebles seeing Pleasure within its own *epistle*. Perfection takes body from its end; Therefore it is reported the love of good.

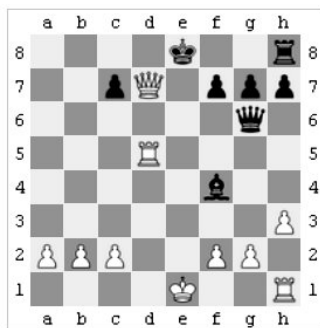


Diagram 42

ENGLISH

Vinyoles - diagram 43

(His King moves to the square of his Bishop) Honesty with such words forms its great Clamor shouting: "O, lofty Venus! Since your virtue is not going to boost mine and your service fails me at this point, my poor Value loses its shine. Seeing that your power is not interested in mine, my Virtue as it flees leaps out." If such frights are not good for Kings, They are still natural and sustain their being.

SPANISH

[62] Vinyoles (Verdes: 20. R1A).—La Honestidad (R) formula su dolorido llanto en tales palabras : "¡Oh, Venus poderosa! Ya que tu virtud no acude á reforzar la mía y en ese trance me falta tu protección, el Querer (D roja) ha venido á desmembrar mi poderío; y puesto que tu poder no se interesa por el mío, huyendo como puede, mi Virtud (R) se aparta del peligro." Si tales zozobras no son siempre del gusto de los Reyes, son, sin embargo, naturales y anejas á su condición.

VALENCIAN

Fenollar - (Si's pert la Reyna, que sia perdut lo joch)

559 Mercuri diu que ja, puix tant comprenen
560 les Reynes tals, que 'n tot poden y manen,
561 si per mal cars, los enemichs les prenen,
562 que los estols s'abaten y s'aplanen;
563 donchs, guarden se gosant no les enganen,
564 car per temor si elles no's defenen
565 ab son esforç, no filen ni debanen.
566 Vergonya y por virtut son en la dama;
567 en l'om empaixs, contraris a gran fama.

SPANISH

[63] Fenollar.—Dice Mercurio que, supuesto que las Reinas valen tanto, que en todo pueden y mandan, si, por desgracia, son apresadas por el enemigo, sus ejércitos deben allanarse y rendirse. Guárdense, pues, de que, por demasiado atrevidas, no sean engañadas, porque si ellas en el temor no encuentran el esfuerzo para su propia defensa, nada podrán ni compondrán. Vergüenza y temor son virtudes en la mujer; en el hombre, obstáculos que se oponen a gran fama.



Diagram 43

ENGLISH

Fenollar - (If the Queen is lost, so will be the game)

Mercury says that since the Queens are so valuable
and that their power and leadership are unrivalled,
if by misfortune the enemy captures them,
their armies must give in and surrender.
Be careful and don't allow them to be tricked
on account of being too daring for,
if through fear they don't find the strength for
their own defence,
they will be powerless.
Shame and fear are virtues in the Dama;
in man they are contrary to good fame.

VALENCIAN

Castellví - diagrama 44

(Mat de Dama en casa de l'altra Dama)

568 Lo princep Març que nostre cor inflama,
569 per triumpfar de tan alta conquesta,
570 pres la Honor que sobre tota res clama,
571 offerint la al bon Valer molt presta;
572 lo qual, pujant en lo gran que li presta
573 la Bella Flor, ab amorosa flama
574 lo Fruyt d'Amor sacrifica 'b gran festa.
575 En lluna sta lo punt d'aquest eclipsi,
576 e qui l'enten, enten l'Apocalipsi.

SPANISH

[64] Castellví (Rojos: 21. D8D mate).—El príncipe Marte que inflama nuestros corazones para triunfar de tan alta empresa, apoderóse de la Honestidad (R verde), como virtud aclamada por encima de todo, ofreciéndola propicia al Buen Querer (D) ; el cual, subiendo el peldaño que le presta la Bella flor (D verde), sacrifica con gran júbilo el Amorosa fruto (R verde). El punto de este eclipse está en Luna; y el que esto entienda, entenderá el Apocalipsis.—[Fin.]

ENGLISH

Castellví - diagram 44

(Queen's check mate in the square of the other Queen)

Prince Mars, who inflames our hearts to triumph in such high purpose, took possession of Honesty, acclaimed as a virtue above all, offering it immediately to Good Will. And he, going up the stair that lends the beautiful Flower, with passionate flame sacrifices the Fruit of Love with great fanfare. In the moon lies the essence of this eclipse, and to understand it is to understand the Apocalypse.



Diagram 44

CHAPTER I.

The Poem „Scachs d’amor” and Isabella I of Castile

The first preserved text about modern chess is the poem *Scachs d’amor* from the XV century. This poem is the first document in which the new *dama* or *queen* appears in the history of chess for the first time. Despite having stated in my last book of 2004 that Queen Isabella had influence on the creation of the powerful new *dama* in the origin of draughts and modern chess, historians of chess and draughts were not taking it seriously and several had reservations about it. Therefore a study of the text *Scachs d’amor* cannot be absent in this book, especially now that we have the results of sensational research by historian José Antonio Garzón Roger at hand.

As Ramon Miquel i Planas (1874-1950) warned in 1914, the real importance of the poem *Scachs d’amor* would not be known until we had a serious study done by a real expert in chess. This work had been done for years by my friend Dr. Ricardo Calvo³ (1943-2002) whose book⁴ was written in 1999 with the foreword by his friend José Antonio Garzón, another expert in the history of chess and who now continues in the footsteps of Dr. Calvo. Garzón had actively helped Calvo with personal communications in the analysis of this poem.

Dr. Ricardo Calvo was aware of my book and my hypothesis, but our paths separated in 1997 when I decided to deal fully with the history of my wife’s village of Blanca that lies in the beautiful Ricote Valley and which was the last greatest place in Spain where the moriscos remained in the year 1613. The inhabitants were expressing the need for knowing their history yearly in their festival

³ See Annex I

⁴ **CALVO, RICARDO** (1999) *El Poema scachs d’amor* (siglo XV). First preserved text about modern Chess. Analysis and comments by Ricardo Calvo. Editorial Jaque XXI, S.L. – Madrid, with prologue by José Antonio Garzón Roger

book of August, but until 1997 nobody was writing about it. So I decided to do that and after one year I had written a nice book of 900 pages. Despite Ricardo's unsuccessful attempts to convince me to continue with the history of draughts I left this project because I needed a break after 10 years of continuous research. Calvo knew a lot about the history of Spain and he surely knew that in Spain the queen was an exception for Europe where queens could not govern in the fifteenth century⁵. In stanzas X-XIII of the book *Scachs d'amor* Calvo⁶ referred to my hypothesis and briefly said: "The choice of the term was most likely influenced by the figure of Queen Isabella the Catholic", but inexplicably he does not speak in his book on the new strength of the "queen" or "dama" piece that I also attribute to queen Isabella⁷. On the other hand he did not forget to mention⁸ my discovery of the word "dama" in Nebrija's dictionary of 1495, which also took me much time to determine the actual date of the original dictionary of Nebrija⁹, which according to

⁵ **A historic amateur asked Calvo:** "I have a couple of questions that you might be able to help me with. I remember reading about a law that was made during the Renaissance that did not allow a woman to be the primary ruler". **Calvo replied:** "According to the archives of our tribe women were excluded from inheritance of the crown in most European kingdoms because of the so-called "Salic law" officially adopted in France in the 13th century. It still applies to the Spanish monarchy, for instance. The name comes from the Sals, a tribe established in France before Charlemagne".

<http://www.goddesschess.com/chessays/calvotributepart3.html>, 2.12.2000

⁶ **CALVO, RICARDO** (1999) El poema *Scachs d'amor*. (Siglo XV). Análisis y comentarios por Ricardo Calvo. Pág. 65

⁷ **WESTERVELD, GOVERT** (1994) *Homo Ludens, Der Spielende Mensch IV*. Internationale Beiträge des Institutes für Spielforschung und Spielpädagogik an der Hochschule Mozarteum Salzburg, Salzburg. Page 104 says: His movement, which until then was between adjacent squares spread over the entire board. This new capability or "power" of the queen appears to be linked, according to my studies, with the influence on all areas of social, cultural, and political-military at the time, held by the figure of Queen Isabella the Catholic.

⁸ **WESTERVELD, Govert** (1997) De invloed van de Spaanse koningin Isabel la Católica op de nieuwe sterke dame in de oorsprong van het dam- en moderne schaakspel. Spaanse literatuur, jaren 1283-1700, p. 217

⁹ However, the words we find in the dictionary of Nebrija, 1495, are the most interesting ones:

Alquerque Calculorum ludus

Andarraia Calculorum ludus **NOVUM**

some historians was from 1492 and according to others from 1495. Calvo knew a lot about the history of Spain and he surely knew that in Spain the queen was an exception for Europe where queens could not govern in the fifteenth century¹⁰. The odd thing is that Calvo at first did not rule out that the new rules in chess of those years could have been derived from the cultural atmosphere created by the powerful new queen Isabella of Castile where the queen played a prominent role, at least as important as her husband Ferdinand of Aragon. But Calvo ended by saying that this is and will remain a matter of speculation¹¹.

However, when he wrote the introduction to my book of 1997 he told me that he did believe in this possibility. So the issue is confusing, because Calvo did not continue this line of research. Perhaps there were other elements in his Research that suggested abandoning this line of investigation. I know he had very strong friendship with the German chess historian Egbert Meissenburg who wrote the following about Calvo ¹²:

Dama es casi señora Domina-ae NOVUM

In the dictionary of 1495 **NOVUM** (new) is printed separately and the meanings of these words are new. So as a result of the new dama the long dama with long strokes was definitively introduced at that time in the game of chess. As for the dates, this all harmonizes with the three treaties about the new powerful dama in the game of chess (1476 Scachs d'amor, 1495 Franchesch Vicent, and 1497 Lucena).

¹⁰ **A historic amateur asked Calvo:** "I have a couple of questions that you might be able to help me with. I remember reading about a law that was made during the Renaissance that did not allow a woman to be the primary ruler". **Calvo replied:** "According to the archives of our tribe women were excluded from inheritance of the crown in most European kingdoms because of the so-called "Salic law" officially adopted in France in the 13th century. It still applies to the Spanish monarchy, for instance. The name comes from the Sals, a tribe established in France before Charlemagne".

<http://www.goddesschess.com/chessays/calvotributepart3.html>, 2.12.2000

¹¹ **CALVO, RICARDO** (1991) Birthplace of Modern Chess. New in Chess, Alkmaar (Holanda)

¹² The translation of the German text is from Jose Maria Gutierrez Dopino. The original text that I received at the beginning of 2003 is in an occasional bulletin (Okkasionellen Rundbrief of OGK) of the Initiative Group Königstein. With respect to the birth of the new powerful dama in Valencia Meissenburg and Calvo Valencia wrote two articles together:

"He (Calvo) has demonstrated and warranted that modern chess can only come from Spain, with new figures of the dama and the bishop. At birth of chess [queen] France and Italy honored her. He found evidence in the history of the ancient printers and a certain Valencian circle of intellectuals. And this reason (one of many others) convinced me, though not, for example, the version that the modern chess dama is a strong female personality (Isabella the Catholic, as his friend Govert Westerveld, a historical draughts researcher, defends. "

Meanwhile in the year 2003 the historian Joseph A. Garzon had written a splendid book about the lost book of Francesch Vicent printed in Valencia in 1495, demonstrating with tremendous research that the book actually existed and that there must be an original book somewhere in the world. This does not surprise me at all, because Spain has lost many jewels due to certain interests we never will understand. Therefore, seeing that Mr. Garzón knows the Valencian language because he is a native of Valencia and an expert in the history of chess, who better than he could check in 2003 in necessary depth the text of the poem *Scachs d'amor* taking as base¹³ the influence of Queen Isabella of Castile?

Garzon had already devoted himself to love the poem *Scachs d'amor* in chapter of his book¹⁴, and had helped Calvo with personal communications, i.e., Garzon was very familiar with this poem and he was the suitable person to bring many obscure points to light. So I talked at length with him on this issue, both of us agreeing on the

CALVO UND MEISENBURG "Valencia, Geburtsstätte des modernen Schachs". Schach-Journal (1992), N° 3, pp. 34-46

CALVO UND E. MEISENBURG "Valencia und die Geburt des neuen Schachs". IFK (Internationales Forschungszentrum kulturwissenschaften). Wien. 1995, pp. 77-89

¹³ As base I refer to my book of 1997: "La influencia de la Reina Isabel la Católica sobre la Nueva Dama Poderosa en el Origen del Juego de las Damas y el Ajedrez Moderno" (The influence of Queen Isabella the Catholic on the New Powerful Dama in the Origin of the Draughts and Modern Chess Game).

¹⁴ **GARZÓN ROGER, José Antonio** (2001) *En Pos del incunable perdido. Francesch Vicent: Llibre dels jochs partits dels schachs, Valencia, 1495*. Edited by the "Biblioteca Valenciana". In chapter 4 entitled "Scachs d'amor, la otra gran aportación Valenciana" the poem is amply discussed.

fact that there were many things still unclear even today, but we have always taken as base that both the name of the piece (queen) and the new movement of the queen had to do with the influence of Queen Isabella and that there must be metaphors in the poem *Scachs d'amor* in this sense, because the poem is the original text of modern chess.

The great virtue of Garzón in research is his open mind and enormous analytical capacity¹⁵ enabling him to research things to infinite depth. On the other hand his desire to join forces could never be without consequence and the result was that the sun was suddenly visible behind the clouds of centuries in the *Scachs d'amor* poem, a handwriting text full of metaphors. The chess historian José Antonio Garzón investigated, found hard evidence, and confirmed that the influence of the Catholic Queen Isabella, crowned Queen of Castile on 13 December 1474, was the true inspiration for this new kind of chess of the new powerful dama, both in creation of the name of the piece *dama* and in the creation of the new force of the queen.

But it is important that we know more of this Valencian poem and nobody better than Garzón, evoking his cited book:

In 1905 the priest Ignasi Casanovas broke the news of his finding in the Royal Chapel of Palau in Barcelona of a manuscript whose collective authorship consists of three writers, all from Valencia and well known in the late fifteenth century: Francesc Castellvi, Narcís Vinyoles, and Bernat Fenollar. This unpublished poem by the end of that century carried the title of *Scachs d'amor* and was written in the Valencian language. José Paluzié, then a remarkable bibliophile and key author in the early stages of the Spanish chess historiography, was the first to highlight the importance of the manuscript. However, even a man as rigorous, honest, and indefatigable researcher as he was could not take the necessary steps to escape the daily obligations. Probably the time in which he lived prevented it. Shortly thereafter, in 1914, the eminent bibliographer Ramon Miquel i

¹⁵ This is something that chess and draughts players have in common.

Planas realized in *Bibliophilia*, a comprehensive analysis of the manuscript, translating it into Castilian¹⁶.

The *Obres e Trobes* (the first book printed in Spain in 1474 in Valencia) is an art competition held on March 25 of that year. There are many poets who have poems and couplets in this art competition, and we find our three earlier mentioned poets among them¹⁷. The *Obres e Trobes* is considered to be the first literary work printed in Spain of which the only known copy in the world is preserved in the University Library of Valencia. It consists of 60 leaves without foliation and signature and is written in Roman letters on paper with hand and star watermark. The three poets, as we see, already knew each other. Seeing the relationship they had with King Ferdinand and knowing his passion for the game of chess, there may be another thing they thought about around 1475. It was time to change the figure of the queen on the chessboard and inform the King by means of their poem in the form of a manuscript. Finally in 1475 Isabella of Castile was queen with more power than her husband and she let this fact be known to the whole world. Anyway apart from this event, she by no means ceased to respect her husband at all times. Some months earlier, on October 4 1474, her implacable enemy, the Marquis of Villena died. Then King Henry was soon forsaken and friendless, quickly became sick, and died on December 12 1474. The next day Isabella was crowned Queen of Castile.

It was a political decision of *fait accompli* that would provoke the war between Isabella and her supporters against her opponents. Isabella emerged victorious in the struggle for the throne and later during the field battle. She won people for her cause not only for her modern war machine, but also for her great propaganda machine as

¹⁶ **GARZÓN, JOSÉ A.** (2001) *En Pos del incunable perdido*. Francesch Vicent: Llibre dels jochs partits dels schachs, Valencia, 1495. Editado por la Biblioteca Valenciana. pp. 147-148

¹⁷ **PASTOR FUSTER, Justo** (1827) Biblioteca Valenciana,. Servicio de reproducción de libros, Librerías “Paris-Valencia”, 1980. P. 52

a tool of war¹⁸. The Queen was then twenty-three years old, had a beautiful and majestic figure, and was dressed in white brocade and ermine from head to toe. When Ferdinand learned by a letter of Carrillo about the coronation of his wife, he was angry because the sword of justice had been brought before the Queen¹⁹. It was not customary in Aragon or Castile to carry the sword before the queens. In Aragon the *Salic Law* was also in effect which excluded women from the throne. Fernando evidently thought, despite the marriage convention terms with Isabella, that he would be the king of Castile after the death of King Henry IV²⁰. Calvo thought the poem had been written in the period between 1470 and 1479. On the contrary, Garzon wanted to lean more toward the year 1474, because the jump of the King was at a much earlier stage closer to Lucena and due to the explicit and novel references. Beside that it was also the year of the Marian contest. However, Isabella was not queen until the end of 1474. On the other hand, we cannot forget that the book of Caxton²¹ was printed in 1474-1475, so I discarded

¹⁸ **AZCONA, Tarsicio** (1964) *Isabel la Católica. Estudio crítico de su vida y su reinado*, Madrid, p. 153

¹⁹ **VAL VALDIVIESO, María Isabel del** (1991) *La sucesión de Enrique IV. In: Espacio, tiempo y Forma. Historia Medieval*, p. 50. She states:

A few days before the feast of Corpus Christi held that year on June 13 the rebels organized the spectacular deposition of Henry IV on June 5, 1465. The montage, apart from being colorful, had great political effect from the point of propagandistic view: On a stage prepared for this purpose the rebeldes proceeded to divest the real attributes of a doll representing the King who was finally driven from the throne, falling to the ground. Then these attributes of power were given to Alfonso who was proclaimed king. His supporters call him Alfonso XII. The responsible persons of this act knew perfectly what they were doing. The use of a doll dressed in the attributes of royalty clearly represented the king, and to popular opinion it was the King without any doubt. This was a message that the Spaniards of that time could easily grasp. But in the "Farce of Avila" there are still other elements (cleverly highlighted by Professor Mackay) explaining their political efficacy and immediate popular success: with the help of an effigy of the king the rebels were removing his attributes of royalty one by one, and these were subsequently handed over to Alfonso who in turn would receive the crown, sword, scepter, and throne to be finally hailed as king.

²⁰ **WALSH, W.T.** (1963) *Isabel la cruzada*. Colección Austral, Espasa Calpe, S.A., pp. 44-46

²¹ **WESTERVELD, GOVERT** (1997) *La influencia de la reina Isabel la Católica sobre la nueva dama poderosa en el origen del juego de las damas y el ajedrez*

the period 1470-1474. Consequently it was necessary to look for evidence in the poem. I started from the idea that in the poem should be metaphors that can determine a date and I was right. The result was that the poem *Scachs d'amor* was written by the poets²² after 1474, because as we have seen, precisely on December 13 Isabella was crowned queen in the Alcazar of Segovia. Moreover, the sword of justice had been taken before the queen. The Poets say it clearly in their verse 54:

But our game still wants to adorn itself with a new and surprising style for mainly the Queen's dignity is enhanced as she is given the sword, the scepter, and the throne, because, before all, the Queen requests her honour. She is worthier and the most achieving one. She strolls with ease through the entire field without straying for fear or anger. The greater her freedom, the more she should fear being made captive".

Something unusual in the life of a woman in the fifteenth century, but the poem says it clearly and there is no error: *the Queen's dignity is enhanced as she is given the sword, the scepter, and the throne*, and this was precisely the major finding of Garzon which I meant when I spoke with him, telling him there should be metaphors in the poem in relation to the queen. Garzon with his nose for discovery did not make any mistake and found various proofs, so his important findings deserve a separate chapter. As in real life, the queen's husband Fernando had less power than his wife, so it was appropriate to investigate whether the poem also said something to this effect on the King. I was lucky with verse 54:

moderno, p. 218. In the paragraph on the origin of large (powerful) Dama in the chess and draughts game I stated that "The figures in the chess game are the same ones as in Cessolis based on real life" or as Garzon better says, "a mirror of life." The famous English printer William Caxton printed a second book in Bruges in 1474, others say 1475. It was "The game and playe of chesse," from the book of Ludo Scacchorum of Jacobus de Cessolis through the Frenchman Vignay French Jehan, completed in 1474.

²² Most likely the poets could get a copy of Caxton's book as Bruges had active trade relations with Valencia for export of cloth and import of citrus fruits. Even Spanish colonies had established themselves there.

Therefore, since it is said that she is the most worthy and the most achieving one, she may stroll with ease through the entire field. This is something that I already had expressed years ago²³. On the other hand Queen Isabella was in all parts of her territory. So that was another important point to verify in the poem. I was lucky²⁴ with stanza 28:

“The great Queen, proclaiming the beautiful name of Love, command to come to that part, crossing plains and mountains on a horseback for conquering and gathering her troops”. In my book of 1997 I wrote something similar²⁵:

"The support of the church seemed decisively to defeat Alfonso V. Isabella was actively involved in the recruitment of soldiers and rode long distances on horseback for preparing the final battle".

"All ride, ride well, Isabella and Fernando alike." ("Tanto monta, monta tanto, Isabel como Fernando"). On 15 January 1475 Isabella and Fernando signed the agreement of Segovia in which the divisions of powers between the two monarchs is clearly stipulated²⁶.

²³ **WESTERVELD, GOVERT** (1997) La influencia de la reina Isabel la Católica sobre la nueva dama poderosa en el origen del juego de las damas y el ajedrez moderno, p. 30. Translation of the Dutch page:

Queen Isabella, unlike what happened in other countries, had more power in the Kingdom of Castile than her husband Fernando. By marrying Fernando had to sign an agreement that accepted the laws and customs of Castile. To that end he had to be established in Castile, of which the kingdom he could only leave with his wife, the Queen's approval. Appointments and designations also required his wife's approval. (**WALSH, W.T.** (1963) Isabel la cruzada. Colección Austral, Espasa Calpe, S.A.)

²⁴ Garzón discovered metaphors in stanzas 1, 54, 57, 60, and 63. Thereafter he sent me the Spanish translations by Ramón Miquel i Planas (1874-1950) in 1914.

²⁵ **WESTERVELD, GOVERT** (1997) La influencia de la reina Isabel la Católica sobre la nueva dama poderosa en el origen del juego de las damas y el ajedrez moderno, p. 32. Cf. (**WALSH, W.T.** (1963) Isabel la cruzada. Colección Austral, Espasa Calpe, S.A.)

²⁶ For more data about this important agreement one can consult: **SUÁREZ FERNÁNDEZ, Luis** (1989) Los Reyes Católicos. La conquista del Trono, Madrid, pp. 75-94 and **AZCONA, Tarsicio de** (1986) Isabel la Católica, Madrid, pp. 197-203. The text of this agreement (Concordia de Segovia) is in:

Isabella is now "Queen of Castile" and her husband received the title of King. Ferdinand of Aragon, who was elected by the heart of Isabella, but with whom she did not share the throne, was relegated to the role of King Consort. However, Isabella was smart enough to sit him beside her and to let him know with firm smoothness who had the power and who decided. In this competition she was taking all imaginable precautions to prevent the absorption of power by the Aragonese²⁷, seeing that the marriage at this time had only one daughter.

As from that moment the two husbands would form a block that was impossible to divide. Fernando inherited the throne of Aragon four years later after the death of his father so that Castile and Aragon joined in 1479 and formed the basis of the total reunification²⁸ of Spain becoming a unified kingdom both politically and religiously and many achievements were obtained by this marriage since they came to power. But let us return to 1475. In May of that year, only 5 months after the accession to the throne, Isabella learned that Alfonso V had crossed the Portuguese border with a troop of 20,000 soldiers and marched towards Palencia. He had civilly married his niece, the Spanish Joanna la Beltraneja and thought he had the right to erect as king of the Kingdom of Castile and Leon.

Joanna was the daughter of the Castilian king Henry IV and Joanna of Portugal, his second wife. The Courts of Toledo had proclaimed her to the throne. However, during a noble uprising two years later without strong evidence people accused her mother of adultery and that Joanna in fact was the daughter of the Queen's favorite, Beltran

AGS, Patronato Real, leg. 12, and also in: **DORMER, Diego José** (1683) *Discursos varios de Historia, con muchas escrituras reales antiguas y notas de algunas de ellas*, Zaragoza, pp. 295-302

²⁷ **TORRE, ANTONIO DE LA** (1955) *Vida y obra de Fernando el Católico*. Cited by Ramón Menéndez Pidal, *Historia de España*, tomo XVII. *La España de los Reyes Católicos*, p. 13

²⁸ King Ferdinand issued a document on April 14 1481 by which Isabella got the Crown of Aragon in the same way of powers that King Ferdinand had. See **TORRE, Antonio de la**: "*Isabel la Católica corregente de la Corona de Aragón*", In: *Anuario de Historia del Derecho Español*, 1953, pp. 423-428.

de la Cueva, the 1st Duke of Albuquerque (which explains the nickname Beltraneja). In 1468 there came an end to the revolt by means of the Guisando Pact by which Henry IV was recognized as successor to his sister Isabel (later Queen Isabella). But two years later (Val de Lozoya) a confrontation between the siblings (Isabella married Ferdinand) was the cause that King Henry IV would again recognize the rights to the throne of Joanna.

Then Queen Isabella gave Ferdinand complete absolute power (equal to equal), invalidating almost all distinctions of the earlier declaration except the point that gave full possession of the Crown to the women²⁹. Fernando gave great importance to this document, sending a copy of it to his father on 11 May 1475. In fact, and from this moment, Fernando accessed the full real power of Castile³⁰.

The matter was not clear at all and disturbing. Isabella had lost her old friend Archbishop Carrillo who had deserted her and was now with the enemies. People in Castile said: "He who has his hand to the Archbishop will win." Carrillo for his part said: "I removed her from the spinning wheel and gave her a scepter, now I will take away the scepter and bring her to the spinning wheel again". The poets of *Scachs d'amor* were without a doubt aware of the Archbishop Carrillo's movements who years ago was very much in favour of Isabella and suddenly took a position against Isabella, helping Alfonso V and Joanna la Beltraneja. So the poets in verse 9 warn the Queen, "*And so Will, lady of high dowries, must take great care with whom she goes into battle. And remaining the lowest being more important, she should retire for rebuilding the game;*"

We can understand from the text that the poets considered Queen Isabella to be a woman of high dowries. The first time that the dama was discussed in the poem is in stanza 5 where the term "gentle lady" (dama gentil) is used, which poets often used in those years.

²⁹ **DORMER, DIEGO JOSÉ** (1683) Discursos varios de Historia, Zaragoza, pp. 302-305. Cited by por Ramón Menéndez Pidal, Historia de España, tomo XVII. La España de los Reyes Católicos, p. 13

³⁰ Presumably the poets of the poem *Scachs d'amor* were aware of the text of this power when they wrote stanza 60, where the queen and king equal each other.

The marquis of Santillana, Juan de Mena, and others used the term of “gracious lady” (gentil dama). The poets of *Scachs d’amor* speak in their verses about love, fire of love, lover, etc. and the supremacy of the lady (lady of such high dowries) is one of the characteristic features of this love. Queen Isabella was the idealization of women towards lady (Dama) for the poets.

With all this we mean to say that the term "dama" here has nothing to do in this case with the term "guy de dames" of France that was found in an XIII century French manuscript and was also found in the manuscript Civis Bononiae of the XV century. We mention this because Dutch historians purport that the word “dama” – referring to the game of chess and draughts - is etymologically of French origin and therefore the game of draughts is a French invention. I disagree completely with this view. I have always said that the word "dama" as known in Spanish chess and draughts game has developed independently in Spanish, thus regardless of France.

In other words the origin of the term "dama" is French and no one doubts this, because we know that this word was also used in French Chess manuscripts from many centuries ago. However, the existence of the word “dama” in chess in Spain, in the sense of new powerful piece, was not borrowed from France, but had to do with the idealization of women to Lady and Queen Isabella was an example of such idealization. Before the appearance of the manuscript *Scachs d’amor* the word “dama” was not used in Spain. Precisely the three poets introduced the term “dama” to the chess game in Spain due to the new power of the piece and never due to a French chess manuscript. With the poem *Scachs d’amor* we finally have the proof for that in this sense.

Returning to the 20,000 Portuguese soldiers who marched in the direction of Palencia, Isabella logically defended her legal rights and quickly gathered thousands of soldiers in Toledo and took the lead with armor in the style of the French Joan of Arc. Isabella was lucky to be there with Cardinal Pedro González de Mendoza, a very skilled man in those days. He was a son of the famous poet and military, the Marquis of Santillana. The Cardinal, like his father,

was well educated, a charismatic personality, an experienced soldier, and a witty and impenetrable politician. In the first phase of the war Alfonso V had won a clear victory. The Portuguese monarch had settled firmly on a territory so vast that his stay in Castile was ensured during the winter of 1476. The poets knew that the "Agreement of Segovia" discussed the Succession to the Crown and they were aware of the role to be played by Aragon in the future government.

This matter requires clarification, as the father of King Ferdinand King John II of Aragon did not see the issue of succession in case of death of the Castilian Queen Isabella. In April 1476 the Castilian Court swore in Madrigal as heir to Princess Isabella, of which the conditions of text did not have the approval of King John II, because the position of King Ferdinand was not clear in case of Queen Isabella's death³¹. This topic recurred during Isabella's entire reign. It is logical to presume that King John II was well informed about the oath and it is clear that the poets were also aware of this whole matter.

This is better understandable if we clarify what happened with the birth of the desired boy on June 20 1478. Then, especially in Aragon, jubilation was everywhere. Moreover, the councilors of the city of Barcelona wrote a letter to Don Fernando congratulating him and predicted that the new baby was the unification "united dels e Senyoria regne." This shows that there was not only a Unionist circle in the Court of Castile or around Ferdinand, but that this idea had also spread through large segments of the bourgeoisie of the Crown of Aragón³², among which were our three poets.

³¹ **FRANCISCO OLMOS, José María de** (1995) Juan II de Aragón y el nacimiento del Príncipe Juan. Consejos políticos a Fernando el Católico. In: *En la España Medieval*, Nº 18, Madrid, 1995, pp. 241-251

FRANCISCO OLOS, José María de (2002) La sucesión de los Reyes Católicos (1475-1504). Texts and documents. In: Cuadernos de Investigación Histórica. Seminario "Cisneros", 2002, 19, 19, pp. 133-134

³² **FRANCISCO OLMOS, José María de** (1996) La última intromisión de Juan II en la Política castellana. In: las Actas del XV Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón. El Poder Real en la Corona de Aragón (siglos XIV-XVI), Part I, volumen 2 (Crónica y ponencias), Zaragoza, 1996, pp. 459-474. (King John II

However, Ferdinand and Isabella's army had to be organized well due to the Portuguese king's hesitant behavior.

King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella of Castile succeeded in reducing the Portuguese army in Toro³³ on March 1 1476. The battle of Toro was not just a military victory, but more a political victory, because it resolved the civil war in favor of the Catholic Monarchs. And we think that the date of *Scachs d'amor* can be verified by this matter in 1476, because in the poem we see a winner³⁴.

The queen loved her husband passionately. She was superior to him in talent and gifts of government, but she acted in such a way that "the merits were attributed to him." She was almost fanatical about the religious aspect. Apart from that she was impulsive, energetic, proud, and above all visionary. She was jealous to excess, but covered her husband's infidelities. Isabella's character was very strong. Once she was annoyed with the work developed by the chronicler of the Court, Hernando del Pulgar. When writing a feat of Ferdinand the chronicler made no mention of her as a partner in this feat and Isabella reprimanded Pulgar. The chronicler of the Court could not do anything else than rectify the incident, because above all Isabella was a very powerful queen.

was always attentive to the problems of the government of Castile and the position of his son, and as we can see from his coded letters between July and August 1478, a few months before his death he still gave his son tips on how to defend his place in this kingdom, and even how to manage the newborn Prince John's education)

³³ The testament of King Ferdinand made in Torredesillas, 12-VII-1475 was Published by the **DUQUE DE BERWICK Y ALBA** (1915). *Noticias históricas y genealógicas sobre los estados de Montijo y Teba*, Madrid, pp. 232-235; and **SESMA MUÑOS, J.A.** (1992). *Fernando de Aragón, Hispaniarum Rex*, Zaragoza,

Apéndice de documentos notables, nº 13, pp. 260-263. Cited by **FRANCISCO OLMOS, José María de** (2002) *La sucesión de los Reyes Católicos (1475-1504). Texts and documents*. In: *Cuadernos de Investigación Histórica. Seminario "Cisernos"*, 2002, 19, 19, pp. 129-166

³⁴ Chess historian Von der Lasa gave the date 1475, Garzón proposed me 1475. I thought that the poem was started in 1475 and completed in 1476. Today Garzón and other historians have generally accepted the date of 1475 to which I agree completely in order to have one date.

Isabella, the humanist queen, exempted printers and booksellers from paying tax since 1477, confirming this exemption in the Courts of Toledo in 1480. This is the reason why the press flourished more in Spain than anywhere else in Europe. With the help of the humanist queen the amount of books was enormous. It motivated printers so that many works were printed to the cult of Queen of Castile. According to the queen's chronicler, the Italian Lucio Marineo Siculo, this was the reason that the Castilian geniuses were successful in literature. Due to this event the culture in Castile had an advantage for several decades in northern Europe, a culture that countries like England, France, or the German States could not reach. This was the case, perhaps, only by some Italian states³⁵.

Isabella hated the cards and all chance games³⁶, and like the scholar Lucio Marineo who lived in her Court for some years she regarded professional players to have the same condition as blasphemous ones. The Courts ordinances of Madrigal, held in 1476, are a clear example that Isabella did not want to have any of the games and that she wanted to remove them wherever possible. The legal framework to pursue or chase the game was ready and now she could fight the vice that caused the ruin of many families and estates, fights, riots, injuries, deaths, and above all offenses against God. Because of the

³⁵ This is something to bear in mind with respect to the first books of chess and draughts. This culture was initiated by Queen Isabella, thus giving rise to the magnificence of the fifteenth century - the Spanish XVI century stunned the world.

³⁶ It is quite interesting to know what games were played in the XV century. Under the provisions of the Court of Toledo it was only allowed to play cards and tables since the ban was total for the game of dice. The crier of Murcia, just as in other cities, was saying "... you cannot play dice and *jaldeta* or backgammon, or cards, or *a la rifa*, or the *flux*, or some other games, nor play them in your homes or give players boards or cards for playing".

Municipal Archives of Murcia A.C. 1475-76, session of 8-XII-1475.

Cited by **VEAS ARTESEROS, Francisco de Asís** (1998) In: Actualización científica y didáctica en historia medieval. Capítulo El Juego en la edad media, notas para su estudio, p. 218

In Murcia in the fifteenth century people played "*gresca* or *grisca*, *rifa*, *jaldeta*, *bufo*, *avellanetas*, *alcarriches*, both *dardo* and *alfardón*, and other games known as *flux*, Cf. **VEAS ARTESEROS, Francisco de Asís** (1990) In: Documents of the fourteenth century, 3, C.O.D.O.M., XII. Murcia, p. 351

dice game people spitting and expressing filthy words, blasphemed and renounced God.

The provisions arising from the decision of the Courts of Toledo, so hard to be implemented throughout the kingdom, greatly punished the game players due to the hardness of the same and the zeal of the councils to meet the Royal Ordinances³⁷. Therefore it was an ideal situation to create other types of not prohibited games, such as chess and other types of Andarraya and to promote new rules in the same games or invent other ones.

It must have been a tough test for Isabella when she became aware of the fact that Fernando was fond of cards. The chronicler Hernando de Pulgar tells us that the king lost much time with the game of chess, sometimes more than his work really could permit. In his youth he also played the ball game, but in later years Ferdinand was fond of chess and *chaquete*³⁸. His wife, however, preferred poetry, music, horse riding, hunting, and holding serious discussions on literature, philosophy, and theology³⁹.

As became clear in this chapter, King Fernando had a considerable interaction with the three poets and presumably they wanted to flatter him in one way or another and had presented him with the poem. The strange thing is that the poem by these three poets would not be published when they were in the habit of publishing all their poems.

This event is rather surprising, because the two monarchs were able to take full advantage of poetic propaganda in those years. In those years the poetic eulogy of symbols and images formed a royal image without contradiction, being a stereotype of the king easily

³⁷ **VEAS ARTESEROS, Francisco de Asís** (1998) Actualización científica y didáctica en historia medieval. Capítulo El Juego en la edad media, notas para su estudio, pp. 210-211

³⁸ It was a game of backgammon. Each player had 15 pieces. It is a game that has been taken erroneously more than once for a game of draughts.

³⁹ **WALSH, W.T.** (1963) Isabel la cruzada. Colección Austral, Espasa Calpe, S.A., p. 36

assimilated by the receiver and making it one of the privileged discourses of monarchy. The size of these panegyrics propaganda is based on the intrinsic to the entire oral poetic composition intended to be recited or sung. Poetry allows optimal conditions for the dissemination of political ideas, as it is not only intended for a small audience, but it also manages to reach a wide audience in the context of religious and courtesans' celebrations, and especially the citizens' celebrations, because they summon all the people around the monarch. Hence the Royal ceremonies are the ideal projection of royal propaganda which is contained in the written poetic compositions to exalt the monarchy, the figure and actions of the monarchs⁴⁰.

Poems dedicated to the kings, which would be recited during the royal entrance, help to complete the character of propaganda that this type of ceremony has. The poet becomes the authoritative voice of the speech recognition that the king asks his people. But the poem also proves to be the ideal way to transmit other political objects, such as the derivatives of the domination pretensions of the king. All this is reflected in the composition directed to Fernando on his entry in Barcelona in 1473.

It is a composition of one of his most faithful followers, Gómez Manrique, and expresses the general mood with Fernando's pace in a so difficult situation. Fernando arrived at Barcelona just out of the revolt and this is why in the poem of welcoming people tried to please the future King of Aragon with expressions of love and

⁴⁰ **CARRASCO MANCHADO, ANA ISABEL** (1995) Propaganda política en los panegíricos poéticos de los Reyes Católicos: una aproximación. En: *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, Volume II, pp. 517-543. The main formulas and expressions from which the defense of the monarchy had been realized in the songbooks have been studied by: **NIETO SORIA, José Manuel** (1988) *Apología y propaganda de la realeza en los cancioneros castellanos del siglo XV*. pp. 200-221. You can see his work: **NIETO SORIA, José Manuel** (1988) *Fundamentos ideológicos del poder real en Castilla (siglos XIII-SVI)*, Madrid. On the other hand the relationship between propaganda and royal ceremonies is studied in the work of: **NIETO SORIA, José Manuel** (1993) *Ceremonias de la realeza. Propaganda y legitimación en la Castilla Trastámara*, Madrid.

fidelity. Then the monarchy order of apology is reflected, which is nothing else than the religious model of monarchy, in which the king keeps peace in the kingdom by keeping the laws and dispensing justice, in contrast to the divided Kingdom: "Loving Justice, King justified King, / shall be prospered your crown / ...with weapons in war,/ A God in heaven, a king on earth / to be feared by all nations."

Although organized by city authorities, the Royal entrances cannot escape the king's control, who is the true protagonist. For this reason expressions do not fail that besides exalting and affirming the monarchical power drive a given expansion program.

This poem employs the use of prophecy that serves to encourage Fernando's expansionist ambitions on the Peninsula. Another way to achieve the same goal is to greet Fernando with appellatives which will encourage him to reach the highest power. "That King from whom the world expect Monarch", which is the same as saying "universal emperor". These expressions are not random if we consider the historical context in which they are pronounced: the imposition of royal authority on a rebellious city, i.e. the state of an imminent struggle against the French rival and the dispute over the Castilian throne⁴¹. In the poem de Gracia Dei, that apparently dates before the year 1468, the figure of Isabella is symbolically elevated to a position of magnificence and triumph. The whole Court of Isabella accompanies the infant with a colorful parade, being an imitation of royal entrance into a city or simply a festive entrance to the palace. Allegorical characters embody the virtues around Isabella and, personified, recite verses exalting her preeminence and victory⁴².

⁴¹ **CARRASCO MANCHADO, Ana Isabel** (1995) Propaganda política en los panegíricos poéticos de los Reyes Católicos: una aproximación. In: Anuario de Estudios Medievales, Volume II, pp. 521-523

⁴² For the work *Crianza y virtuosa doctrina* of Pedro de Gracia Dei. Vid, **INFANTES, Victor** (1989) Edición, literatura y realeza, apuntes sobre los pliegos poéticos incunables. In: "Literatura Hispánica, Reyes Católicos y Descubrimiento", Barcelona, pp. 95-97

The war of succession to the throne is the context in which they wrote and released the Sermon of ballads *about the high and mighty prince, king and lord, King Ferdinand, King of Castile and Aragon, on the yoke ...*, written by the preacher of the kings Iñigo de Mendoza. According to Julio Rodríguez-Puértolas⁴³ these ballads are dated 1475-1476. This is a poem made in the sense that Ferdinand wanted to put on an image of authority, because the idea was to win the war and subjugate the nobles who had declared to be his enemies. On the other hand the king also needed to convey a most benevolent image of him to allay fears that could encourage, and inspire greater confidence in the Castilian kingdom, highlighting their good qualities above those of the Portuguese opponent.

Throughout the sermon the legitimacy of the succession of Ferdinand is emphasized: "Our natural Lord / Who by law and reason / is dressing State cloths / of Castile and Leon /. Another very effective way to do it (remember this liturgical context of diffusion) is alluding to the divine origin of power granted to the king, God puts in Fernando's hands currency or insignia of power (thongs and yoke) with which to subjugate the nobility.

It also affirms the legitimacy of succession of the kings by alluding to recent events, as is the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella. It tries to discredit the arguments used by the propaganda of the other side. Irrefutable proof of legitimacy will be God's judgment favorable to the kings, which will give final victory to Fernando. Furthermore war propaganda feeds on anti-French and anti-Portuguese references and a critique to the cooperation with those nobles who are at odds with the kings⁴⁴.

⁴³ **MENDOZA, Fray Iñigo de** (1968) Cancionero, Madrid, p. LXVI. Cited by **CARRASCO MANCHADO, Ana Isabel** (1995). Propaganda política en los panegíricos poéticos de los Reyes Católicos: una aproximación. En: Anuario de Estudios Medievales, Volume II, p. 526

⁴⁴ **CARRASCO MANCHADO, ANA ISABEL** (1995) Propaganda política en los panegíricos poéticos de los Reyes Católicos: una aproximación. En: Anuario de Estudios Medievales, Volume II, pp. 527-528

Most likely the king himself had to do with this matter. King Ferdinand knew that his wife did not quite agree with the hours he lost playing chess. The queen did not like games in those years⁴⁵. On the other hand there is the possibility that the king felt himself somewhat humbled by this poem where the queen had more power than the king. As we have seen previously political poems were written for Ferdinand and the poem *Scachs d'amor* would focus all attention on his wife. However, it is reasonable to think that Ferdinand discussed the issue with his wife.

Whatever the real reasons would be for not publishing the poem we will never know. All Isabella's ideas to unify Spain and the formation of only one religion were realized in 1492 and from this date she⁴⁶ supposedly gave the green light to the final implementation of the new powerful dama in the game of chess⁴⁷ and andarraya. Antonio Nebrija was responsible for spreading the words "Dama" and "Andarraya" around the world through his dictionaries around the world. The time had come to show the world what the Spanish nation was made of.

By chance I found out that approval of the voyage of Columbus in 1492 had to do with a game of chess. The matter seems doubtful to me, but it is worthwhile to mention, because I have always related

⁴⁵ 1480-VI-13, Toledo. Reyes al concejo de Sevilla. Ratificando los ordenamientos promulgados hasta la fecha referentes a la prohibición de juegos de dados y cartas. (The Monarchs to the council of Seville, ratifying the enacted orders to that date with reference to the prohibition of dice and cards games). (Archivo General de Simancas, R.G.S. 1480-VI-13, fol. 263). Cited by **VEAS ARTESEROS, Francisco de Asís** (1998) Actualización científica y didáctica en historia medieval. Capítulo El Juego en la edad media, notas para su estudio, pp. 220-221

⁴⁶ We know that the queen was vain and liked the honors and fame.

⁴⁷ We do not know if they played chess with the powerful dama, but the fact is that even with chess people played for money. Francisco Moro, neighbour of Logroño and squire of the guards of captain Puertocarrero, was able to win 20,000 maravedies from Juan Gonzalez playing chess. Cited by **VEAS ARTESEROS, Francisco de Asís** (1998) Actualización científica y didáctica en historia medieval. Capítulo El Juego en la edad media, notas para su estudio, p. 207

the details of the discovery (1492) with the accolade of modern chess (a new world and life was found on the board). The author of the article appoints up to two times Nebrija, who in my opinion was well aware (much more than it seems) of all matters relating to the new powerful dama. Garzón was saying the same: *"I think it a very valid article for our research. From it we can also deduce that the Queen was not exactly a bad player (including modern chess), but the issue of the chess party is more questionable and looks like a composition."*

In this respect the writer Ned Munger refers to Edward Lasker who had supposedly investigated an archive of Cordoba where he found two letters. These letters were supposedly written in 1492 by Hernando del Pulgar who describes a chess incident between King Ferdinand and his Minister Fonseca⁴⁸.

History often hangs on strange and unrelated events. Indeed, had a game of chess in 1492 turned out differently, the Western Hemisphere might have been discovered by someone other than Columbus, and South America might have been conquered by a people other than the Spanish. It seems that because the explorer was infuriated by King Ferdinand's unwillingness to assign him the rank of admiral, he was about to leave Spain and forgo his expedition for the Spanish court. As it happened, that news reached the palace while Ferdinand was playing chess with a favorite opponent Señor Fonseca. Much as Queen Isabella wanted to intercede on Columbus's behalf, she knew better than to interrupt the play. Hernando del Pulgar who was watching the game agreed with her and believed that Ferdinand's reaction to the news about Columbus would be influenced by his mood at the end of the game, which he was losing. Pulgar whispered a move to Isabella. She distracted Ferdinand just as he raised his hand to make a fatal move. He rethought his strategy, made a different move, and won the game. Isabella then easily persuaded him to send a horseman to find and recall Columbus.

Three-and-a-half centuries later ... writer Edward Lasker delved into the archives of Cordova. (The writer coincidentally shared the last name of his companion Emanuel Lasker, the German chess master and world champion from 1894 to 1921.) There he found two letters written in 1492 by Hernando del Pulgar in which the history-making chess incident is described.

⁴⁸ **MUNGER, Ned** (1998) Culture, chess, & art. A collector's odyssey across seven continents: the Americas, p. 167.

Moreover Julio Ganzo⁴⁹ discusses in his book the same issue of letters linked to chess. Hopefully one day chess researchers will study this matter in depth. Apparently the author M.J. Vavallée published in 1845 the same letters in the French magazine *La Palamedes*⁵⁰. Thus we see here a connection between Edward Lasker and Vavallée. The article by Vavallée was translated into Spanish by Dr. Jose Tolosa and Carreras⁵¹ in 1898.

Since I do not know the Valenciano language I asked José Antonio Garzón Roger from Valencia to study again the work done by Dr. Ricardo Calvo since I was sure that there must be metaphors in the poem *Scachs d'amor* in relation with Queen Isabella of Castile. Garzon was happily willing to study this poem in depth and his results were outstanding⁵².

⁴⁹ **GANZO, JULIO** (1966) *Historia General del Ajedrez*, Madrid

⁵⁰ Garzon told me that the article in question was published in French in the chess magazine *La Palamède*, 1845 (pp. 459-464). It was translated by famous Dr. Jose Tolosa y Carreras (who was fluent in French) in the *Ruy Lopez* chess magazine, Volume III, March 1898 (pp. 66-69). The translation that incorporates Ganzo in his book is identical to that by Tolosa y Carreras, but inexplicably not cited by him. One of these letters was copied from the archive by M.J. Vavallée (others say M. J. Lavalée) and published in the French chess magazine *La Palamède*.

⁵¹ **TOLOSA Y CARRERAS, JOSÉ** (1898) *Chess Magazine Ruy López*, Volume III, March 1898, pp. 66-69.

With thanks to Mr. Garzon who gave me the text. Garzon believes that due to the text coming from Tolosa y Carreras we can trust him with full guarantee on his fidelity to the article of 1845. Regarding the first article, the author seems well documented and it would appear that he has consulted the letters in the archive! How complicated and hard is research! Someone will have to see one day the letters in *La Colombina* of Seville to confirm the accuracy and authenticity of this story ... and maybe the person in question will find something new and surprising.

⁵² **GARZÓN ROGER, José Antonio** (2004) *Scachs d'amor. The definitive Proof of the Valencian Origins of Modern Chess*. In **WESTERVELD, Govert** (2004) *La reina Isabel la Católica, su reflejo en la dama poderosa de Valencia, cuna de ajedrez moderno y origen del juego de damas*. In collaboration with José Antonio Garzón Roger, Valencia. Generalidad Valenciana, Secretaria Autonómica de Cultura.

CHAPTER III.

Isabella I of Castile, the new powerful Dama in Chess

In this Chapter, I give the present state of acceptance of the new powerful chess queen in chess and draughts. According to my hypothesis this was Isabella I of Castile. This proposition has been accepted throughout the world in all these years. However, since there are still opponents to this theory, it is necessary to find additional proofs. In this article I give the opponents' theories and the development of my hypothesis over the years. I explain why in the monarchs' sphere the Kingdom of Castile became more important than the kingdom of Aragon in Spain and that consequently Castilian habits were quickly accepted by the Aragonese courtiers. Finally, I hope to make clear that the word "dama" was imported from France in the XV century.

Isabella I of Castile, the new powerful chess queen

The model for the great revolution that took place in chess (and gave rise to the origin of Spanish draughts a few years later) was none other than Queen Isabella I of Castile (Spanish: Isabel la Católica), the powerful Lady on the scene of Spanish public life. Years ago José Antonio Garzón Roger found conclusive evidence in the poem after a pertinent review of the manuscript *Scachs d'amor* and a summary of his research follows⁵³:

A notable aspect of the manuscript is its explicit allusions to the alteration of the chess game, which gives the impression that it was happening at that very moment, using very clear expressions, always with reference to the Queen: *still nouell, la ley de nostre escola* ('a new style, the rules of our school'). The most important stanza is number 54:

Stanza 54

Fenollar. (Diu que la Reyna vagie axi com tots,
sino Cavall)
478 Mas nostre joch de nou vol enremar se
479 stil novel e strany a qui bel mira,
480 prenent lo pom, lo ceptre e la cadira.
48: car, sobretot, la Reyna fa honrar se.
482 Donchs, puix que diu que mes val e mes tira,
483 per tot lo camp pot mol be passegar se,
484 mas tocre no, per temor ni per ira.
485 Quant mes se veu la libertat altiva,
486 mes tembre deu de caure may cativa.

Prose translation (after Miquel i Planas, 1914):

"I say that the Queen shall have the moves of all
the pieces save the Knight."

But our game still wants to adorn itself with a
new and surprising style for mainly the Queen's dignity
is enhanced, as she is given the sword, the sceptre and the throne.
Therefore, since it is said that she is the most worthy one and the most
achieving, may she stroll with ease through the entire field, albeit without

⁵³ **GARZÓN ROGER, José Antonio** (2004) *Scachs d'amor*. The definitive Proof of the Valencian Origins of Modern Chess. In **WESTERVELD, Govert** (2004) *La reina Isabel la Católica, su reflejo en la dama poderosa de Valencia, cuna de ajedrez moderno y origen del juego de damas*. In collaboration with José Antonio Garzón Roger, Valencia. Generalidad Valenciana, Secretaria Autonómica de Cultura.

straying, for fear or anger. The greater her freedom, the more she should fear being made captive”.

Fenollar

“I say that the Queen shall have the
moves of all the pieces save the Knight.”

But our game still wants to adorn itself with a new and surprising style for mainly the Queen’s dignity is enhanced, as she is given the sword, the sceptre and the throne. This brief text is one of the most important in the History of Chess, because it implies that they are the ones who created the new piece⁵⁴ and anticipates the surprise that her move would cause. Again it is clear that an existing Queen (Isabella I of Castile) was being evoked because a surprisingly precise description of an important real-life event is mentioned:

Queen Isabella I of Castile was crowned in the Alcázar of Segovia on 13 December 1474. The sword of justice was raised in front of the Queen just as the sceptre and the throne were given to her. This historic episode was included by the poets in the written passage where it is presented as a very new and surprising event on the chessboard.

This cannot be a coincidence and it follows that the poem was written after the coronation of the Queen (c.1475) but not much later, because the idea of newness is inherent in the entire poem.

It also calls our attention that when the Queen’s power is described, it is said that she has the power of all the pieces except that of the Knight⁵⁵,

⁵⁴ In Garzon’s opinion this is the heart of the matter and he was able to prove it to the Italian historian Alessandro Sanvito in a letter. The following is a paragraph taken from that letter:

“...numerous references are made in the poem to the change of rules and it makes the statement that it was this school - the Valencian one - that proposed the Queen’s new range of movements. The fact that they are introducing this new piece is much more important to me than even the date, because it indicates that it is not necessary to research any further. As you know, all this movement occurred in Valencia during its Golden Age when it had a very active trade with Italy. The first 3 known books on the game of draughts were published in this same city (in the 16th century) with the peculiarity that the key piece, as in chess, went through profound transformation. This has been analysed in detail by Govert Westerveld, an authority on the subject!”

⁵⁵ Lucena makes the only clarification here about the rules that can be strictly attributed to him: the possibility that in the first move the promoted queen could behave as a Knight: “the game that I use”, Lucena says. Therefore the source for

whereas nowadays we would say that this piece's range of movement is a combination of the Rook and the Bishop. But the poets' formula is eloquent:

they created a piece that unites the strength and virtues of all of her people (including the King). This cannot be coincidental, either.

The sword of Justice was brought before the queen and this we clearly see in the stanza 54 of *Scachs d'amor* discovered by Garzón. The writer of chronicles of the monarchs Diego de Valera wrote about this coronation⁵⁶:

La serenísima reyna mandó fazer en la plaza de Segovia un muy alto asentamiento, donde fue puesto su Escudo Real. Y ella, adornada muy ricamente, quanto convenia a tan alta reyna e princesa, estuvo allí algún espacio; donde los oficiales de armas en alta voz denunciaron a todos la sublimación de al serenísima reyna doña Isabel, única legítima heredera successora de estos reynos de Castilla e de León después de la muerte del rey don Enrique su hermano. Lo qual se fizo con gran sonido de trompetas, atabales e tamborinos, e otros diversos instrumentos, con universal alegría de todos los nobles e ciudadanos e populares que allí estaban. E desde allí la reyna se fue a la iglesia mayor, en una hacanea muy ricamente atabiada las camas, que llevaban los más nobles que allí se hallaron, llevándole encima un paño de brocado muy rico. Y delante de ella iba cavalgando un gentil hombre de su casa, de noble linage, llamado Gutierre de Cárdenas, a quien el rey e la reyna después ficeron muy grandes mercedes, or señalados servicios que les fizo; el qual llevaba delante de ella, en la mano derecha, una espada desnuda de la vayna, a demostrar a todos como a ella convenia punir e castigar los malhechores, como reyna e señora natural de estos reynos e señoríos. Lo qual por algunos fue mucho reprehendido; queriendo decir que esto no pertenece a la reyna, mas al rey su marido, tomando para ello fundamento de algunas leyes que declaran acerca de las mugeres no aver lugar de juzgar. Lo qual es verdad generalmente en las mugeres; pero de la regla son exemptadas las reynas, duquesas e señoras, que por derecho hereditario les pertenece a sus señorías que tengan mero y misto imperio. E como la reyna nuestra señora fuesse y sea señora soberana en estos reynos, pudo y debió facer lo propio que si el rey fuera presente: e aunque esta sublimación de ambos a dos juntamente se debiesse facer, como si ambos deputados, el marido e la muger, una misma

this book, especially in regards to modern chess, Vicent's manual, contained the remaining rules, which Lucena transcribed: the rules of the queen's chess.

⁵⁶ **VALERA, Diego de** (1480/1927) *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos* / Mosén Diego de Valera; edición y estudio por Juan de M. Carriazo, p. 4

carne fuessen; mas como el rey fuesse absente, y no se supiesse qu n presto ser  su venida, la tardanza de esta sublimaci n pudiera ser da osa (como la preclar ssima reyna do a Isabel tuviesse competidora en do a Juana, que fija del rey don Enrique se llamaba, e aun que algunos, aunque contra toda verdad, la quer an por tal tener) de hecho se pudo e debi  facer, e fue discreta e sabiamente puesto en obra.

Translation:

The serene Queen commanded to do a very high settlement, in which her Royal Shield was put, in "Plaza de Segovia". And she, richly adorned, as suited to such an important queen and princess, was there for some time; where officers of arms loudly denounced all the sublimation of the Most Serene Queen Isabella I, heiress and only legitimate successor of these kingdoms of Castile and Leon after the death of King Henry, her brother. This was done with the great sound of trumpets, drums, tambourines, and other instruments, with universal joy of all nobles and citizens and public who were there. And from there the queen went to the cathedral in a hackney with very richly dressed beds carried by the noblest there were found, bringing up a rich brocade cloth. And before her was riding a gentleman from her house of noble lineage called Gutierre de Cardenas, whom the king and the queen later did very great favors or signaled service for the work done by him. He had before him in the right hand a naked sword from its sheath to show everyone how it suited her to punish and castigate wrongdoers as queen and natural lady of these kingdoms and dominions. This for some of them was much reproved, meaning that it does not belong to the queen, but to the king, her husband, taking into account some laws that declare that women should not judge. That is generally true for women, but queens, duchesses, and ladies who by hereditary right belong to their Lordships that have grouper and mixed empire are exempt from this rule. And as Our Lady Queen was and is the sovereign lady in these kingdoms, she could and should do the same as if the king were present: and though this sublimation of them both together was due to do, as if the two deputies, the husband and woman, were one flesh; but as the king was absent, and no one knew how soon would be his coming, the lateness of this sublimation could be harmful (because *preclar ssima* Queen Isabella I had competition in Dona Juana, a called daughter of King Henry, and seeing that some, but against all truth, wanted her as queen) in fact she could and should do, and she was discreet and it was wisely put to work.

Noteworthy is the long study of José Antonio Garzón Roger that he effected in 2010 with reference to the new documents relating to the addiction of the Catholic Monarchs to chess⁵⁷.

⁵⁷ **GARZÓN ROGER, José Antonio** (2010) Nuevos documentos relativos a la afición de los Reyes Católicos al ajedrez. In: Luca D'Ambrosio et al. (Ed), *Publicación Jubilar en honor de Alessandro Sanvito. Contribuciones internacionales sobre Historia y Bibliografía del ajedrez*. Vindobono, pp. 251-271.

Opponents to this hypothesis

Although generally accepted in the whole world, there are presently three opponents to the hypothesis that Isabella I of Castile is the new powerful chess queen.

1. Agustí Mezquida (Catalonia Autonomous Community⁵⁸)

The filmmaker Agustí Mezquida made his own chess history to promote his film *La Dama dels Escacs* (The Chess Lady) that was partly financed by CulturArts of Valencia. He made his own hypothesis without any background of chess history and so we saw the following text figure in most Spanish newspapers⁵⁹ on 17 November 2014:

Es en el poema alegórico *Scachs d'Amor*, datado en 1475 y obra de tres autores valencianos, donde por primera vez se menciona la aparición de la dama en el juego, con lo que quedaría descartado que esta pieza se inspirara en la figura de la reina Isabel la Católica.

Translation:

It is in the allegorical poem *Scachs d'Amor* dated 1475 and by three Valencian authors where the appearance of the *dama* (lady) in the game is mentioned for the first time, which would rule out that this piece was inspired by the figure of the queen Isabella I of Castile.

⁵⁸ It is necessary to observe the latest development in Spain with regards to the communities. Today we witness multiple identities in decentralized Spain. Spain currently has 17 autonomous communities [or provinces]: Catalonia, Madrid, Andalusia, Valencia, Basque Country, Castile and León, Galicia, the Canary Islands, Castile-La Mancha, Aragon, Murcia, the Balearic Islands, Asturias, Navarre, Extremadura, Cantabria, and La Rioja. The persistence of dual self-identification expressed by citizens in the Spanish autonomous communities [or provinces] (nationalities and regions) can lead to confusion in historical research.

⁵⁹ See:

<http://www.elmundo.es/comunidad-valenciana/2014/11/17/546a0da1e2704e08268b458e.html>

Those who know the chess history are well aware that the weak piece known as *dame* (lady) was used as queen in chess in France for several centuries, so the statement that the *appearance of the dama (lady) in the game is mentioned for the first time* is not true. Other newspapers followed Mezquida and arbitrarily changed certain words, and so we see the following text⁶⁰ appearing on www.thinkspain.com on 6 December 2014:

The allegorical poem *Scachs d'Amor* written jointly by three authors in 1475 in an early form of *Catalán*, the language spoken on the east coast of Spain and which evolves into *Valenciano* between the provinces of Castellón and Alicante, mentions the queen for the first time, proving that she was not, as originally believed, based upon Isabella I of Castile.

Scriptwriter and director Agustí Mezquida believes it more likely the chess queen was based upon María of Castilla, consort of King Alfonso the Magnanimous, although chess expert Marilyn Yalom of Stanford University in the USA believes that the chess queen does not come from one specific figure, but from several ones, since centuries ago queens began to play a much greater role in governing.

A similar notice appeared in the ABC newspaper on 8 March 2014. Suddenly the work of José Antonio Garzón Roger who confirmed my hypothesis of the new powerful chess queen, and my own research of the latest 25 years were made to look worthless. Fortunately José Antonio Garzón Roger contacted ABC citing the history of the actual development of the new powerful lady in chess and ABC amended Mezquida's article of March 8, 2014 to the one of March 11, 2014:

Estos hechos están documentados y a los investigadores, con José Antonio Garzón a la cabeza, les consta que la obra de Vicent ayudó a popularizar el nuevo poder que adquirió la dama (o reina) en tiempos de Isabel la Católica, aunque se citan otras influencias, como María de Castilla y otras monarcas occidentales. En cualquier caso, aquella pieza conocida hasta entonces como alferza, de alcance limitado, se convirtió en la más

⁶⁰ See:

<http://www.thinkspain.com/news/versionimprimir.asp?x=34tger634sdg34&y=5346345645634&CodNoticia=25214>

poderosa del tablero, suceso trascendente del que ya se había hecho eco el poema «Scachs de amor», datado en 1475. Garzón, en concreto, considera que la figura de Isabel la Católica como modelo real de la nueva dama del ajedrez goza de consenso internacional. «El investigador holandés Govert Westerveld es quien estudió y acreditó la cuestión», asegura.

Translation:

These facts are documented and researchers with José Antonio Garzón at the helm are aware that Vicent's work helped popularize the new power acquired by the queen (or queen) in the times of Isabella I the Catholic, although other influences are mentioned, such as Maria de Castilla and other western monarchs. In any case, that piece alferza known until then, limited in move, became the most powerful on the board, a transcendent event that had already echoed the poem *Scachs d'amor* from 1475. Garzon in particular considers that the figure of Isabella I of Castile as a real model of the new chess lady enjoys international consensus. "It is the Dutch researcher Govert Westerveld who studied and credited the issue" he says.

2. Professor Antoni Ferrando I Francés (Valencian Autonomous Community)

Maybe the filmmaker Agustí Mezquida was influenced by Prof. Antoni Ferrando I Francés who is a true expert on the poem *Scachs d'amor* written by the three poets Francesc Castellví, Narcís Vinyoles, and Bernat Fenollar. Professor Ferrando I Francés cannot agree to the hypothesis of Isabella I of Castile either⁶¹:

Hi ha alguns estudiosos dels escac que veuen en la prohibicion que les reines lluiten entre elles una allusio al conflicte entre la reina isabel la catolica i la seua germanastra⁶² juana la beltraneja i, en l'atribucion a la

⁶¹ **FERRANDO I FRANCÉS, Antoni** (2012) Noves aportacions a Narcís Vinyoles. Edició de Lo «Credo in Deum» aplicat per sos articles a la Mare de Déu d'Esperança y los goigs. In: Estudios sobre el *Cancionero general* (Valencia, 1511) Poesía, manuscrito e imprenta, pp. 479-506, citation on pp. 486 and 487.

⁶² Joan of Beltraneja was the daughter of the stepfather IV of Castile (1425-1474). She was the daughter of Joan of Portugal (1439-1475). In 1455, The story is as follows:

Henry married Joan of Portugal, sister of Alfonso V of Portugal. After six years of marriage, in 1462, she gave birth to a daughter, Joan, nicknamed "La Beltraneja". Six years after the birth of the throne's heir, part of the nobility of Castile revolted

reina dels atributs del rei (pom, ceptre y cadira), un homenatge a la reina de castella. Per a garzon, l'afirmacio als escas d'amor que les reynes tals que.n tot poden y manen evocaria les capitulaciones matrimoniales entre isabel de castella i ferran d'arago, que implica per al futur rei d'arago l'obligaco de residir als dominis d'isabel. Si fos aixi, tindriem un nou argument per a situar la datacio dels escas d'amor cap a 1475, ja que el conflicte civil castella esclata el 1474, arran de la mort d'Enric IV de Castella. Ara be, aquestes hipotesis, que no tenen cap suport documental, son dificilment deduïbles del nostre poema. La reina Isbel I de Castella no sera consort reial a la corona d'arago fins al 1479 i, per tant, dificilment podria ser objecte d'homenatge per part d'algu que no n'era subdit. d'altra part, no estaven vinculats a la cort reial cap dels tres autors, ja que, si be francisc de castellvi ja era, el 1464 cambrer de l'infant ferran d'aragon (el futur ferran II), no n'esdevindra majordom real fins al 1476, i bernat fenollar tampoc sera nomenat capella i mestre de capella de ferran II fins al 1479. En tot cas, cal fer notar que l'augment del poder de la reina coincidix amb els objectius de l'al·legoria amorosa: enfront de la poligamia dels vilantes, les lleys d'amorosa malicia, sentenien una dama per a cada rei. La restriccion de la presència duplicada de la dama al tauler tindra com a contrapartida l'assimilacio total del seu poder al del rei (Bataller / Narbon⁶³ 1991:56).

Translation from Valencian:

Here are some chess scholars who see in the prohibition that the chess queens fight between them an allusion to the conflict between the Catholic Queen Isabella I of Castile and her stepsister Juana the Beltraneja in attribution to the queen the attributes of the King (pom, scepter, and chair), a tribute to the Queen of Spain. For Garzon the assertion of *Scachs d'amor* that the Queens are worth a lot as they can command everything and even send and evoke the capitulations of marriage between Isabella I of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon implies future obligation of the King of Aragon to reside in Elizabeth's domains. If so, we would have a new argument to place the dating of the check of love on 1475 as the civil conflict in Castile broke out in 1474 following the death of Henry IV of Castile. However, to

against the king. The rebels claimed that the princess was not the daughter of the king, but actually the daughter of Beltrán de La Cueva, 1st Duke of Albuquerque (thus the nickname "Beltraneja"). This hypothesis was reinforced when the Queen had another two children with the nephew of a Bishop.

However, it should be noted that Isabella of Castile was the aunt of the misnamed Joan of Beltraneja. Isabella was a usurper and must have known that Joan was indeed a natural daughter of Henry IV.

⁶³ **BATALLER, Alexandre; NARBON, Carme** (1991) *Escacs d'amor: una obertura al joc*, A Sol Post, 3 (1991), pp. 45-74

these conditions they have no documentary support and are very difficult to deduce from our poem. Queen Isabella I of Castile will not consort the Royal Crown of Aragon until 1479 and therefore could hardly be subject to homage by someone who himself was not citizen. On the other hand she was not linked to any of the three authors of the Royal Court because although Castellvi Francis was in 1464 already the waiter of Prince Ferdinand of Aragon (later Ferdinand II), he did not become real butler until 1476 and Bernard Fenollar would not be named chapel and choirmaster of Ferdinand II until 1479. In any event it should be noted that the increasing power of the queen coincides with the objectives of the allegory of love: against polygamy of the villains the law of love malice, a lady understandable for each king. The restriction of the duplicated presence of the lady on the board will have as counterpart the assimilation of the total power of the king.

3. Dr. Arie van der Stoep (Holland)

Finally, we have a draughts board game specialist Dr. Arie van der Stoep, who does not believe in Isabella I of Castile. I state here part of his review of Marilyn Yalom's book *Birth of the Chess Queens*⁶⁴:

Yalom pays attention to the poem *Scachs d'amor* (The Chess of Love) from the 1470s, the first manuscript referring to the new chess queen. The governing queen was Isabella I of Castile; we make acquaintance with here on p. 199-211. "Can we establish a connection between the new mighty chess queen and Isabella I", asks Yalom. Her answer is affirmative, based on the argument that Isabella I was a militant queen and that the new chess queen with her unlimited power is militant too. This argument is not new - Yalom borrowed it from Spanish historians⁶⁵. She adopts it to sustain her claim, but is it valid? I am afraid not; for the second time I lodge an objection against the method used by chess historians.

Dr. Van der Stoep finally finishes with the conclusion of the expert: «Hence my conclusion: the book may be fascinating and captivating, though it is far from a contribution to our knowledge of board games.»

⁶⁴ **STOEP, Arie van der** (2014) Birth of the Chess Queen. In: Board Game Studies Journal. Issue 8, pp. 153-158
http://bgsj.ludus-opuscula.org/PDF_Files/10.pdf

⁶⁵ Strangely enough, Yalom did not refer to my articles about Isabella [?] of Castile as the new powerful chess queen.

The idea of Dr. Van der Stoep is that the word *dame* comes from France and that the new powerful chess queen was developed there. An impressive study of his research can be found on the internet⁶⁶.

⁶⁶ **STOEP, Arie van der** (2014) A chess legend. In: Board Game Studies Journal. Issue 8, pp. 107-122
<http://history.chess.free.fr/papers/van%20der%20Stoep%202014.pdf>

The historical background of the new powerful chess queen, Isabella I of Castile

More or less at the same time Professor Joachim Petzold, Dr. Ricardo Calvo, and myself were involved with the history of the modern chess queen:

1986

Professor Joachim Petzold was one of the leading historians in the German Democratic Republic. He spent part of this time on the history of chess and in 1986 mentioned a possible link between *dama* (chess queen) and the Spanish Queen Isabella I⁶⁷, but in this case the pages are 162 and 163 of this book:

76. Königin Isabella von Kastilien, zu deren Lebzeiten die grosse Schachspielreform stattfand und die als überragende Herrschergestalt auch der modernen Dame im Schach als Vorbild gedient haben könnte. Anonymes Gemälde (16. Jahrhundert).

Translation:

76. Queen Isabella I of Castile, in whose lifetime the great chess reform took place and who as supreme ruler figure could also have served as model in the modern *dame* (lady) in chess.

1987

The chess game at that time reflected the real situation in daily life and from the beginning I could not believe in Jeanne d'Arch, but thought more about Isabella I of Castile⁶⁸

“How was it possible that the *dama* (queen) suddenly received such a high value in chess and *dama*?. “We do not know the reason, but we should bear in mind that many Spaniards think of Isabella I as their greatest ruler”. As from 1987 I was looking for proofs for my hypothesis.”

⁶⁷ **PETZOLD, Joachim** (1987) *Das königliche Spiel. Die Kulturgeschichte des Schachs*, Stuttgart, pp. 162-163

⁶⁸ **WESTERVELD, GOVERT** (1987) *Dutch Draughts Magazine* “Het Nieuwe Damspel”, p. 71

Gerard Bakker⁶⁹ also wrote about the origin of the draughts game and came to the first conclusion with respect to the new powerful queen without mentioning Isabella I of Castile.

1988

I was convinced about the fact that the new powerful Dama in the draughts/checkers and chess game had to do with the Spanish Queen Isabella I of Castille⁷⁰:

Further, it can be of importance that in 1480 the Catholic Kings did ban any each board game involving dice. So people got time for another board game. Because the old chess game with the old (weak) lady took still too much time, the new (strong) lady was introduced to shorten the playing time. And then also the draughts game was born, from the combination of the old alquerque-12 game and the new chess acquired promotion of (pawn) to dama (lady). Why was Isabella I of Castile such an important person? She convinced her husband to provide money to Columbus to discover the New World. She persuaded her husband of the need of one religion, to baptize or expell the Jews and to conquer Granada. This queen was visiting on horse-back her soldiers throughout their territory. It was really more a general⁷¹ than a Queen and in any case a more important figure than her husband, King Ferdinand.

1989

Moreover, seeing that the first draughts book came from Valencia⁷² and the same could be said about the first chess book of Francesc Vicent⁷³ it was clear that we had to concentrate on Valencia as the possible birthplace of these two new games.

⁶⁹ **BAKKER, Gerard** (1987) In: Het Nieuwe Damspel, N° , pp. 42-50

⁷⁰ **WESTERVELD, Govert** (1988) Het twaalf-schijven-spel. In: Het Nieuwe Damspel, Utrecht, N° 2 april-June, p. 29.

⁷¹ Though she certainly could not march onto the battlefield, Isabella I made her presence known, often making camp during the civil war. She appeared before the troops and even rode with them at the start of individual campaigns.

⁷² **WESTERVELD, Govert** (1989) Juan de Timoneda. In: Het Nieuwe Damspel, Utrecht, N° 2 april-June, pp. 46-47.

⁷³ **VICENT, Francesc** (1495) Libre dels jochs partits dels schacs en nombre de 100, Valencia.

1990

Professor Juan Torres Fontes of the University of Murcia was one of my loyal supporters. He supplied me various books and articles about Isabella I of Castile, some of which he wrote. The more I read about Isabella I, the more it became clear to me that she was a much more important person than her husband Ferdinand II of Aragon⁷⁴.

For that reason I instructed Mr. Jesús Silvente to make a good drawing of Isabella I in front of a Spanish draughts board. This drawing was published in 1990 in my first Spanish draughts book⁷⁵ written with the help of Mrs. Florentina Navarro Belmonte, who was licensed in the Medieval History and in charge of revision of my Spanish texts. The title in the drawing “La Reina de las Damas” (The Queen of the Damas in draughts and chess) does not create misunderstandings. According to my research she was the woman who was more important than the King and the central figure of the dame in chess and of the dama in the draughts game. As we know in both games we have a dama after entering the pawn in dama.

The two chess books, written in 1495 by Francesch Vicent in Valencia and in 1497 by Lucena in Salamanca, show that the new chess game was part of the proof of that.

Francesc Vicent (Segorbe, 1450 – c. 1512) was a Valencian, later Spanish, author who wrote the first treatise about chess using the present-day moves for the queen and the bishop. Printed in Valencia on May 15 1495 by Lope de Roca Alemany and Pere Trinchet.

⁷⁴ Isabella I of Castile was more important than her husband between the years 1974-1975. Thereafter both Monarchs took together decisions.

⁷⁵ **NAVARRO BELMONTE, Florentina & WESTERVELD, Govert** (1990) *Las Damas: Ciencia sobre un tablero*. Tomo I. Editor Promociones y Publicaciones Universitarias, S.A. (PPU S.A.) – Barcelona. ISBN 84-7665-697-0

1991

Suddenly something was happening in the chess world too, because Dr. Ricardo Calvo, a renowned chess historian, also dared to state in 1991 the following in one of his explosive articles⁷⁶:

The new moves of the queen coexist with literary activities in which the feminine figure acquires a new preeminence, as was evident in literary contests honouring the Virgin. At the same time, a powerful queen, Isabella [I] of Castile, was playing a prominent political role esteemed to be at least as important as that of her husband, Ferdinand of Aragon. The decision of changing the rules of movement of the old medieval queen into the new, powerful queen of modern chess, may be explicable in this cultural atmosphere, though this point is, and will remain, a matter of speculation.

But Calvo's idea was only based on intuition as a result of long research and proofs still had to be given. Our friendship dates from 1991 and in 1992 he wrote a short introduction in my second draughts book, from which I only translate part of the text relating to the Queen Isabella I of Castile, because we were both feeling her presence in the chess and draughts games⁷⁷.

The origins of the game of checkers (draughts) and its fascinating historical and cultural context are still partially a world shaded by veils of mystery. Some of these veils hint at yet a very specific backdrop: The second half of the fifteenth century and the figure of Queen as Isabella I of Castile, both on the chessboard and in politics, printed a deep mark that has served as a mold to different ideas engendered in her environment. The game consists of jumping over squares and lines on a board or limits of human geography hitherto regarded as fixed. It is almost immaterial, both mounted. In the spirit of that time there existed an endless transformative potential at the edges of the explored things, a way of no turning back leading to the promotion of each human or symbolic piece who dared to take the edge of the frame of established moves.

⁷⁶ **CALVO, Ricardo** (1991) France, Birthplace of Modern Chess. In: New in chess, Nº 7, pp. 82-87 and 89

⁷⁷ **WESTERVELD, Govert** (1992) Las Damas: Ciencia sobre un tablero. Tomo II, Beniel, p. 7.

As indicated before in the early nineties I became friends with Dr. Ricardo Calvo who visited my home several times. When I was invited by him in 1993 to assist in the Chess Congress of the Königstein Gruppe in the Max Euwe Centre of Amsterdam, it quickly became clear to me that I was among the best chess historians in the world.

I brought to Amsterdam the hypothesis of the new powerful dama in the chess and draughts game and it was Prof. Dr. Bauer who invited me to write about it for one of his books. In this way my hypothesis was published a year later⁷⁸.

Prof. Dr. Joachim Petzold from Berlin, whom I met in Amsterdam, encouraged me in 1994 to continue my investigations, because according to him Dr. Ricardo Calvo or myself would clarify the situation of the new powerful dama⁷⁹. In 1997 I published the history of the new powerful dama⁸⁰. I placed the English introduction of the book on the internet⁸¹ within a year. For all those years Rob Jansen from Amsterdam had helped me with valuable information about the history of draughts.

⁷⁸ **WESTERVELD, Govert** (1994) Historia de la nueva dama poderosa en el juego de Ajedrez y Damas. (History of the New Powerful Queen in the Game of Chess and Draughts), pages 103-225. Homo Ludens: Der spielende Mensch IV, Internationale Beiträge des Institutes für Spielforschung und Spielpädagogik an der Hochschule "Mozarteum" - Salzburg. Herausgegeben von Prof. Mag. Dr. Günther C. Bauer.

⁷⁹ After the publication of my hypothesis of Isabel la Católica in 1994 Prof. Petzold wrote me a letter on 11 August 1994, from which partial English translation follows:

Dear Mr. Westerveld,

Already in Amsterdam I had the feeling that from your work the chess history research will receive impulses. Although I can read your article in Homo Ludens Volume 4 only in the summary of Mr. Pöll, I see myself (my work) fully confirmed. Calvo and you will most likely solve the mystery of when and where the chess reform was held and who could have invented the name "the Dame".....

⁸⁰ **WESTERVELD, Govert** (1997) La influencia de la reina Isabel la Católica sobre la nueva dama poderosa en el origen del juego de las damas y el ajedrez moderno". ISBN 84-605-6372-3 - 329 pages. – Forewords of Dr. Ricardo Calvo and Prof. Dr. Juan Torres Fontes – University of Murcia (In the Dutch language)

⁸¹ See Index I at the end of this book

Following the publication of my book «*La reina Isabel la Católica: su reflejo en la dama poderosa de Valencia, cuna del ajedrez moderno y origen del juego de damas*, Generalidad Valenciana. Conselleria de Cultura, Educació i Esport», at the beginning of 2004 on which José Antonio Garzon Roger collaborated with me I learned that the professor of the University of Stanford Marilyn Yalom⁸² supported my idea of a lifetime since 1987 that the Queen (Dama/Lady) of the chess game and Dama (Lady) in the draughts game modeled Isabella I of Castile chess game and Dama (Lady) in the draughts game modeled Isabella I of Castile and, more importantly, the evidence is found in Ms *Sachs d'amor*⁸³.

⁸² **YALOM, Marilyn** (2004) *Birth of the Chess Queen*. London, Pandora Press, 2004 On 23 October Certainly, Isabel is a far more likely candidate for this distinction than the historically remote Joan of Arc (1412?-1431) or the geographically displaced Catherine Sforza (1463-1509) proposed by Eales. Although there is no proof that Isabel's real and symbolic power caused the transformation in the game itself, we can say that at the very least the recording of that dramatic change was a result of the impresssion that the absolutist power of this "new kind of queen" made on one aspiring *letrado*.

2004 she informed me by phone that she had seen my book of 1997 that was in the National Library of The Hague. I received an email from her with the following text:

«Yes, I am familiar with your work and cite it in my book. We agree (as did that great pioneer Ricardo Calvo) that Isabella I of Castile was deeply implicated in the establishment of the new long-legged chess queen and, as you point out, in the game of draughts. It was a labor of love for me to research and write *Birth of the Chess Queen* - a project that brought me to the Royal Library in the Hague, to the Cleveland Public Library on several occasions, and to Spain (Madrid and Catalonia).»

⁸³ **VINYOLES, NARCÍS** (1475?) *Escacs d'amor*, Valencia; Edición de Antonio Ferrando Francés, Universitat de València, Facultat de Filologia, Narcís Vinyoles i la seua obra, Valencia, 1978.

CALVO, Ricardo (1999) *El poema Scachs d'amor*. (Siglo XV). Análisis y comentarios por Ricardo Calvo.

GARZÓN ROGER, José Antonio (2001) *En pos del incunable perdido* Francesch Vicent: Llibre dels jochs partits dels schachs, Valencia, 1495.

José Antonio Garzón Roger had according to my instructions⁸⁴ found in *Scachs d'amor* the proofs that Isabella I of Castile was the new powerful queen in the chess game.

The opinion of Barbara Weissberger about the new queen in chess is also very clear when she refers to Isabella I of Castile⁸⁵:

After 2004 it was clear to me that I had to investigate the life of Lucena, but unfortunately that was a very difficult job, because we did not know anything about him. We know that in 1497 he wrote the two books *Repetición de amores* and *Arte de Ajedrez* which were published in Salamanca. Another book that he probably also wrote in 1497 was *Tractado sobre la muerte de Don Diego de Azevedo*. However, after this date Lucena disappeared completely. For that reason I decided to firstly publish the biography of his father, the ambassador of the Catholic Monarchs Juan Ramirez de Lucena, and then the work of his son Lucena.

For that purpose I had to study many dissertations, books, and articles on the life of the Lucena family. It became clear to me that the university was a closed circle. Nobody at the university was aware of the great research about the protonotary Juan Ramírez de Lucena done by Máximo Diago who worked in the Centro de Ciencias Humanas y Sociales. One of the earliest researchers of Juan Ramírez de Lucena was Professor Dr. Ángel Alcalá in New York. In 2006 I finished my biography in Spanish of this protonotary and Professor Alcalá was kind to write its foreword.

⁸⁴ **WESTERVELD, Govert** (2004) La reina Isabel la Católica: su reflejo en la dama poderosa de Valencia, cuna del ajedrez moderno y origen del juego de damas. In colaboración con José Antonio Garzón Roger. Generalidad Valenciana. Conselleria de Cultura, Educació i Esport, Valencia, p. 42. Garzon states in his Epilogue: "Without Westerveld I would never have revised the manuscript *Scachs d'amor*, and it was he who gave me the new eyes to look at it. This has allowed us to precisely date not only the manuscript, but also the actual origin of modern chess (1475-1476)".

⁸⁵ **WEISSBERGER, Barbara** (2004) Isabel Rules. Constructing Queenship Wielding Power. University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, London, p. 153.

In the meantime José Antonio Garzón Roger had written in 2005 another book on Francesch Vicent showing that the Italian manuscripts of Cesena and Perugia had the full text of the chess book published in Valencia in 1495. Little by little it was accepted in the chess world that Isabella I of Castile was the new powerful chess queen on the chess board.

On the other hand I learned that Jerónimo Miguel Briongos of Barcelona was working on a dissertation about *Vita Beata* of Juan Ramírez de Lucena. Being sure that Jerónimo Miguel Briongos would prepare a precious dissertation about Juan Ramírez de Lucena I did not waste any attempt to convince him that the world was waiting for it. We had several meetings in Barcelona in various years to discuss the papers of the protonotary. One of his most exiting discoveries was that Juan Ramírez de Lucena was working with Prince Ferdinand in Aragon before Ferdinand married Isabella I of Castile in 1469.

Why the Castilian court had more influence than the Aragonian court

Nobody understands how it was possible that suddenly the influence of the kingdom of Castile was more important than the kingdom of Aragon. However, this was promoted by the same King John II of Aragon and his court. In the early fifteenth century the Castilian dynasty of Trastámara had begun with Ferdinand I of Trastámara in 1412 in the Crown of Aragon through which the Castilian language gradually became the language of the court, the Aragonian nobility, and the upper classes⁸⁶.

Although we do not know the author of the *Triste delectación*, its origin seems to be Catalan according to the researchers. The preference for the Castilian language - even when some authors cite other geographic origins - seems to attest to the existence of a shared linguistic paradigm, but ultimately it is a consequence of the expansion of Castile and its cultural prestige from the marriage of the Catholic Monarchs. In our view this is not enough to postulate the sentimental fiction as a genre, although it seems to be an attitude that shows that these writers felt immersed in the same cultural environment⁸⁷.

The fact that his successors, i.e. all the monarchs of the dynasty, married Castilian nobles strengthened the presence of the Castilian language. The new dynasty by origin would change the political orientation of Aragonian life. For the same formal reason, without diminishing its status, the Kingdom bowed before eastward will now after swinging go back to the west⁸⁸. Thus we see that in 1430

⁸⁶ **COUTADO DOMÉNECH, Esperanza** (2008) La complejidad de las actitudes lingüísticas hacia las lenguas minoritarias. E caso del valle de Benasque. Tesis doctoral, Universidad de Zaragoza, p. 148.

⁸⁷ **GARCÍA RODRÍGUEZ, Rocío I.** (2012) La elipsis gramatical en la ficción sentimental. Tesis doctoral dirigida por la Dra. Dña. Inés Carrasco Cantos. Departamento de Filología Española I y Filología Románica. Universidad de Málaga, p. 61

⁸⁸ **GONZÁLEZ OLLÉ, Fernando** (2010) Actitudes lingüísticas de los Reyes de Aragón. En: Baxar para subir. Colección de estudios en memoria de Tomás Buesa Oliver, pp. 85-110

the Truce of Majano (Soria), arranged by the kings of Aragon, Navarra and Castile consist written in Castilian⁸⁹.

Castilian was the usual language of Alfonso V (married to the Trastámara Queen Mary) and his Neapolitan court was mostly Castilian⁹⁰. It is clear that the everyday family language among Aragonian Trastámaras was Castilian. The great power of Castile and the decline of the Crown of Aragon explain the markedly Castilian character of modern Spain. Both King Juan II and his son Prince Ferdinand II of Aragon spoke Castilian, since everyday family language among the Aragonian Trastámaras was Castilian⁹¹. The linguistic behavior of the sovereigns throughout the court circles would extend or increase. After the marriage of Isabella I of Castile to Ferdinand II of Aragon some of the Aragonian courtiers were immersed in the early acceptance of Castilian customs. This is something that we have to bear in mind.

An article in the newspaper *Levante-emv.com* broadly describes the change of the Valencian language to the Castilian one. The date was 1510. A Valencian writer explicitly abjures from Catalan, which he considers "*a barbaric language*". The traitor is Narcís Vinyoles. However, as a good servant of King Fernando the traitor Narcís Vinyoles had long before accepted in Valencian language the superiority of Castile, which we see reflected, strange enough, on the chessboard with the introduction of the new powerful lady [dama]. Castile's superiority was in the atmosphere in the fifteenth century, even the King John II wanted to see his son Ferdinand I married to the future Queen of Castile.

⁸⁹ **GUAL CAMARENA, M.** (1951) Treguas de Majano entre Aragón, Navarra y Castilla. In: CHE, 16, pp. 78-109

⁹⁰ **CROCE, B.** (1968) La Spagna nella vita italiana durante la Rinascenza, Bari Laterza, p. 36.

⁹¹ **GONZÁLEZ OLLÉ, Fernando** (2010) Actitudes lingüísticas de los Reyes de Aragón. En: Baxar para subir. Colección de estudios en memoria de Tomás Buesa Oliver, pp. 85-110

The abbreviated *Levante-emv.com* newspaper story says⁹²:

As argues the Professor of Catalan Philology of the University of Valencia and academician of the AVL Antoni Ferrando⁹³, "deep inferiority complex takes over the Catalan speakers against an imperial Castilian language, now considered an elegant and refined language par excellence". It is the time of change of language, the linguistic transvestism. The first verses in Castilian created in Valencia arrive in the last third of the fifteenth century timid and snobbish. But it is in 1510 when the turning point of sociolinguistics inversion occurs. And it comes from the hand of the Valencian poet Narcís Vinyoles. Firstly because Vinyoles chose translating the Latin work *Supplementum chronicarum*, a commission of Baron of Toga, Lluís Carròs, and Baron of Manises Pere Boil into Castilian, not into Valencian as was the habit. Secondly and more importantly, by the justification Narcís Vinyoles gives in his prologue to the work. "More out of desire to serve and please many than out of presumptuous boldness I dared to lend my fearful hand - he says - to put this work into this clean, elegant, and graceful Castilian Spanish that may without lies and flattery among many barbars and savages from our Spain be called Latin, sonorous, and most elegant.

.....

Who was this poet who for many has passed into history as the first traitor to the Valencian country and language? Besides being a poet Narcís Vinyoles was a five-times councilor of the city of Valencia, four times a jurat, and four times an administrator of the Llotja Nova. He was nominated twice for mostassa and twice for the post of civil justice. He reached the post of accountant of the Generalitat and was recommended by Ferdinand II of Aragon for being elected as Criminal Justice of Valencia. He was loyal to King Ferdinand II of Aragon (Ferdinand the Catholic), collaborator of the court of the Inquisition in Valencia and, as Mary Carmen Romeo says, "faithful server to the royal policy of centralization". Therefore, and as some experts cite, the filocastellano speech of Vinyoles could be a tactic to ingratiate himself with the royal Spanish power. Antoni Ferrando, author of *Narcís Vinyoles i seva obra*, believes that the poet's words are "a great praise to the Castilian language, that's obvious, or even the expression of a complex or profound admiration, but no automatic

⁹² 500 años de desprecio al valenciano. En: Levante-emv.com, 3 de agosto de 2010

<http://www.levante-emv.com/comunitat-valenciana/2010/08/03/500-anos-desprecio-valenciano/728102.html>

⁹³ **FERRANDO FRANCÉS, Antoni** (1985) Presente y futuro de la normalización lingüística en el País Valenciano. En: Revista de Filología Románica, vol. III-1985. Editorial de la Universidad Complutense de Madrid, pp. 35-45

hatred towards the language that he used after 1510 for writing some poems."

From this text and the texts of *Scachs d'amor* it becomes clear that the traitor Narcís Vinyoles was already a traitor in the early stages by fully accepting the Castilian manners and habits in the court of King Ferdinand II of Aragon, immediately after the marriage of King Ferdinand II of Aragon to Isabella I of Castile.

One unmentioned peculiarity is that under the new rules of *Scachs d'amor* not only the power of the Queen (Dama) greatly increased, but also that of the Church (Bishop). This is a very important change to consider. The *Scachs d'amor* manuscript was written in the Valencian language and probably took certain terms from the work *Triste deleytación*, written in Castilian and Catalan, being the precursor of *La Celestina*. Rocio García Rodríguez tells us that after the marriage of the Catholic Monarchs the consequences of the expansion of Castile and its cultural prestige are noted:

Although one does not know the author of *Triste deleytación* its origin seems to be Catalan according to the researchers. The preference for the Castilian language - even when some authors have other geographical origins - seems to attest to the existence of a shared linguistic paradigm, but ultimately it is a consequence of the expansion of Castile and its cultural prestige from the marriage of the Catholic Monarchs. In our view this is not enough to postulate the sentimental fiction as a genre, although it seems to be an attitude that shows that these writers felt immersed in the same cultural environment⁹⁴.

Once the Kingdom of Aragon merged with the Kingdom of Castile, King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella formally enjoined a single-minded effort to create a new unitary state in which linguistic and other differences would become undesirable.

⁹⁴ **GARCÍA RODRÍGUEZ, Rocio I.** (2012) La elipsis gramatical en la ficción sentimental. Tesis doctoral dirigida por la Dra. Dña. Inés Carrasco Cantos. Departamento de Filología Española I y Filología Románica. Universidad de Málaga, p. 61.

The name and movement of the word Dama

The term “Dama” (French: Dame) was already used in Spain before 1255 and refers to an important woman, the mother of Jesus Christ. While human beings remain within the parameters of service to God and his mother, their salvations – entrance into the Kingdom of heaven – are assured: This is our Sire and that is our Dame (Esti es nuestro Sire e ésta Nuestra Dama)⁹⁵.

Disso el omne bonno a los de la aljama:
«Esti es nuestro Sire e ésta nuestra Dama;
Siempre es bien apreso qui a ellos se clama
Qui en ellos no cree bevrá fuego e flama».

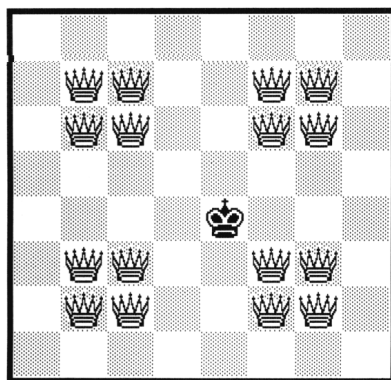
This poem was written by Gonzalo de Berceo (ca. 1197 – before 1264). He was a Castilian poet born in the Riojan village of Berceo, close to the major Benedictine monastery of San Millán de la Cogolla. He is celebrated for his poems on religious subjects written in a style of verse which has been called *Mester de Clerecía*, shared with more secular productions such as *Libro de Alexandre*, or *Libro de Apolonio*. He is considered the first Castilian poet known by name.

For the word dame in the sense of chess queen we have to go to France. We should not forget the MS King’s, 13, A. XVIII (K), written in Anglo-French, which contains a number of treatises from the 13th and 14th centuries. Murray states:

The King’s Library MS. is a quarto parchment MS. which contains a number of different treatises in different hands of the 13th and 14th centuries. The chess work follows a short treatise upon the game of tables (ff. 157 b-160a), and is entitled *Ici comencent les iupertiez des eschez*. It occupies ff. 161-73 (old foliation 166-9, 190-8, but there is nothing wanting). Both works are in the same hand, of the last quarter of the 13th century, as a short chronicle of England down to the reign of Henry III (1216-72). The chess work is written in Anglo-French (without trace of

⁹⁵ **BERCEO, Gonzalo de** (1255) Los milagros de nuestra señora

any English words), and forms a poem of 1,843 lines divided into an introduction and 55 sections, each numbered with an Arabic numeral.



Civis Bononiae 249

In this MS there is a game of playing chess with dames that is called Le Guy de Dames⁹⁶:

Le Guy de Dames (Civis Bononiae 249)

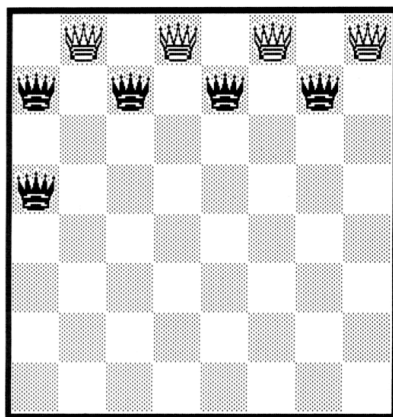
Après les guys de chiualer. De guy de **dames** volie parler. E pur ceo ke ou dames est la medlé. Le guy de **dames** si est nommé. Tiel es de ceo guy le couenaunt. Ke .xvi. fierces auera le vn iuaunt. L'autre soun rey soulement auera. E en quel poynt qe ly plest si saundra. Si noun par force rolle luy seyt. E a dreyn par force mate sereyt. Primes deyt il soun rey asscer. La v il vaudra en le eschecker. E en la manere cum cy veyes. Les fierces si asseyeres. E à checun tret eschec direz. E à dreyn par force li materes. Par vn soul poynt ne remeyndra. V le rey reposa porra. Mes à primes del couenaunt fet soyt. Ke nul fierce pris iseyt (67-86).

White mates the solitary King (who can play to any square) by placing 16 fidedated Qs on the board⁹⁷.

⁹⁶ MURRAY, Harold James Ruthven (1913) The History of Chess, Oxford, pp. 581-589

⁹⁷ MURRAY, Harold James Ruthven (1913). The History of Chess, Oxford, p. 674

There is a Latin work (collected in Lombardy in the medieval period) known as **Bonus Socius**. The handwriting dates from the 14th century and has a chess position with five black against four white queens (Bonus Socios 185). This manuscript should have reached early France already in the 14th century, because they know at least 7 handwritings of French origin. It may be concluded from the text that the word **dama** is used to signify an important woman. The same position occurs in the chess manuscript **Civis Bononiae** under number 247.



Bonus Socios 185

One of the French translations of the Bonus Socios is the MS. Nat. Lib. Paris, F. fr. 1173 of the 14th century with text in the Picard or Walloon dialect of French that consists of 216 folio leaves⁹⁸. Antonius van der Linde⁹⁹ gives a text that figures on folio 3 of the manuscript with the word **dama**, but he erroneously considered the word **daïue** to be dama. This was rectified by the great Murray¹⁰⁰. Nevertheless the same manuscript bears the word **dama**, but in the sense ‘important woman’:

⁹⁸ **MURRAY, Harold James Ruthven** (1913) *The History of Chess*, Oxford, pp. 620, 621, 674 and 701

⁹⁹ **LINDE, Antonio van der** (1874) *Geschichte und Literatur des Schachspiels*. Zwei Bände in einem Band. Editions Olms of 1981, Zürich, p. 286

¹⁰⁰ **MURRAY, Harold James Ruthven** (1913) *The History of Chess*, Oxford, p. 490

Folio 2

On dist es prouerbes anciens ke mal est science emploiee en cuer auariscieus du monstrar. Car chascuns ki mix set se doit traueillier a chou ke il puist les autres enseigner. Et pour chou ke ie ne vauroie iestre repris de si vilain pechiet comme dauarise. Jou Nicholes de St. Nicholai clers a laude de chelui ki est fontaine de sapience vous. Vveu enseigner et demonstrier une partie du sentement de mon cuer et especiaument sor li gieu des eskies et premiers coument par cui ne en quel lieu il fu trouues premierement. En apres de la maniere du gieu et des assises et comment il puet iestre abregies par partures. Sachiez kil fu trouues an siege de troie la grant par .i. ch'r sage et hardi et par une **dame** la quele estoit sa chiere amee car li ch'rs et la **dame** se seoient en .i. vergi et dehors les murs de la cite et regardoient comment chil de dehors requeroient chiaus de dedans et comment cil de dedans les recheuoient et se deffendoient uiguerusement et comment il prenoient et desconfisoient li vn les autres et li plus grant les plus petis, et li plus fort les plus febles et comparerent leur gieu selonc l'ordenement ke il auoient veu es assaus et es batailles. Et apres che ke la cite fu destruite li ch'rs et la **dame** repairierent en lor paiis. Con apiele lombardie. Et fu li gieus esendus par tout le paiis de coi vous faites et veoir le poes aparetment ke lombart sont li plus sage et li plus soutil de cel gieu ki soient. Si ke por le souillece de cel gieu le doiuent desirer a sauoir toute gentil gent et doiuent metre diligamment lor estude et especiaument amant par amors car damour damant et **dame** vint il premierement. Mais pour chou ke li humaine conditions est oscurchie en l'offisse de le celle memoratiue par l'empeschement de nostre premier pere si ke le pert legierement chou ke le ne voit ou pense assidueument. Jou Nicholes deuant dis demourans en lombardie a le priere et a le requeste de mes compaignons ai compilet che liuret de partures ke iai escrito par men estude dou gieu des eskies et des taules et des merelles. Et por chou ke nule choes ne puet iestre parfaite je depri a mes segneurs mes amis et mes compaignons as quels chis presens liures sera paruenus sour imperfection de ceste oeuvre ke il le uueillent deboinairement rechevoir et corriger saucune chose iest trouuee ki ait mestier de correction.

Sir Ferumbras

Murray erroneously states that the earliest mention of the draughts game (Jeu de dames) dates from the second half of the 14th century (Sir Ferumbras of c. 1380). Here is part of the poem of Sir Ferumbras¹⁰¹:

¹⁰¹ MURRAY, Harold James Ruthven (1913) The History of Chess, Oxford, p. 429

“þe manere of hem,” þan sayde he “is erly gon to cherche,
 & after-ward ech man on his degree after his stat þay werche.
 þo þat lordes buþ of þe lond in som tyme of the ȝere,
 þay takeþ hure facouns faire an hond & fareþ to ryuere;
 & Summe a deer hontep of hem þar went & some to fox and hare;
 & to ioustes and tornymment wel mo þer wendeþ ofte þare.
 þo þat willieþ to leue at hame pleyeþ to þe eschekkere,
 & summe of hem to iew-de-**dame** & summe to tablere:
 Summe þay vseþ a maner of play to caste wel a spere;
 And somme for to sckyrme asay with swerd & bokelere.
 pys buþ þe games of my contre þat y þe telle here.”

However, this is not a draughts game, but a game wherein several damas were used.

Guillaume de Saint André (c. 1320 – c. 1390)

Murray states erroneously that there is a French manuscript of a metrical version of 1200 lines written by Guillaume de Saint André in the 15th century¹⁰². It talks about the chess game and the moves are described in 42 lines (139-180). The king’s leap and the double step of the pawn are stated; the Queen is only given her Muslim move. The pieces are called *roy*, *roigne*, or *dame*, *daufflin*, *chevalier*, and *paonnet*, *pion*, *paont*, or *paon*. According to Murray the initial letters of the last 22 lines, when read in the reverse order, give the author’s name.

However, Murray does not give the name of the French manuscript; it is known as *Le jeu des échecs moralisé*¹⁰³. The apostolic notary Guillaume de Saint André was as secretary in service of Juan IV, the duke of Brittany. He wrote this chess poem between 1381 and 1385 and in this poem the word “dame” is used as chess queen.

¹⁰² MURRAY, Harold James Ruthven (1913) *The History of Chess*, Oxford, p. 546

¹⁰³ CAUNEAU, Jean-Michel & PHILIPPE, Dominique (1996) *Le jeu des échecs moralisés de Guillaume de Saint-André*. In: *Annales de Bretagne et des pays de l’Ouest*. Tome 103, number 1, pp. 7-65

Consequently this poem is not from the 15th century as stated by Murray, but from the 14th century.

- 135 Or mettez doncq voustre pouair
Savoir comment on doit jouer
- Si feroi ge certainement,
Car ge en ay moult grant tallant !
- Voyez cy doncq en l'eschiquier
- 140 Le tret du roy qui es moult fier
Du premier point doux poins sauldra
Mais que les poins ne soient gardez
De mille gens, ne occupez;
- 145 Et que ce coup rien il ne prenge,
Le sault en est moult bien estrange !
La **dame** si en peult autant faire;
Mais que la place ne soit contraire;
Et si peult aller davant soy,
- 150 Ou de cornier, tresbien le scoy !
Le roy peult bien partout aller,
En blanca, en noir, par le tablier,
Mes si la **dame** se siet en blanc,
Elle tendrá touz diz son ranc.
- 151 L'auffin qui est en noir assis
Au tiers point sauldra par avis.
Il n mura j asa color,
Non será le blanc par nul jour.
Ainczoys vont touz dous de corniere
- 160 Qui veult bien savoir la maniere.
Le chevalier change pour voir,
Quar moult bien sault du blanc en noir.
Ou tiers point touz dis s'asserra
Et, s'il vault, il retournera.
- 165 Les deux rocs si courent partout,
De long de travers et de bout,
Et, si vont de long et de lé,
Rien en leur voie n'est espargné.
Mes ils ne vont point de corniere,
- 170 Combien qu'ilz retornent arriere.
Au premier coup, le paonnet
Davont soy en un poins se vet;
Mais il ne prent fors de corniere,
Ne ne peut retourner arriere.
- 175 Tant qu'il ait au bout a esté
Lors est il en sa majesté;
Quar il a auxi grant noblesse

Comme la royne, par sa prouesse.
Et si peut aller et venir
180 Par l'eschiquier, a son plaisir.

The Spanish *alferza* was a feminine noun in chess and it was changed by the new powerful *dama* (chess queen) in Spain only in the 15th century, while the name of the weak *dame* (chess queen) in France was centuries earlier.

It will be clear to the experts of the chess game that the piece with the word *dama*, originating in Valencia, is coming from France and that this piece representing the chess queen suddenly gained more power. Consequently we have to explain why people in Valencia suddenly chose the name *dama* and why they increased the power of the piece. This will be explained in a future article¹⁰⁴.



Le jeu des échecs moralisé
Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.
Manuscript Fr. 24274, fol. 37v, 15th century.

¹⁰⁴ WESTERVELD, Govert (2015). Isabella I of Castile as the Virgin Mary on the Chess Board.

The MS *Scachs d'amor* was under French influence.

Le Roman de la Rose, started by Guillaume de Lorris ca. 1230 with 4000 verses and completed in a different style in ca. 1270-80 by Jean de Meun with 1800 verses. This time with chess allegories made under Jacobus de Cessolis's book. *De moribus hominum et de officiis nobilium super ludo scaccorum* was written between 1300 and 1330 by Jacobus de Cessolis, was a very popular chess book in the Middle Ages because it talks about morality and good government. Evrart de Conty had his inspiration from *Roman de la Rose* and the work of Jacques de Cessolis, writing a chess work in verse called *Les eschéz d'amour* (*Eschés amoureux*) around 1375. In 1405 we see appear his work *Le livre des eschéz amoureux moralisés* that was written in prose. The manuscript *Scachs d'amor* was under French influence and for the first time in Spain we see the word "dama" appear. Maybe it also had to do with the *Le Champion des dames*, a work written by Martin Le Franc between 1442 and 1443 and dedicated to Philip the Good of Burgundy¹⁰⁵.

Strangely enough the poem of *Scachs d'amor* was never published in any work, although the changes of the queen and bishop were new and rather important. Until now nobody could give an explanation for the new increasing move of the bishop, precisely at the time of the new queen Isabella I of Castile. This was also silenced in literature. Could the poets not publish this poem due to possible problems with the justice or King Ferdinand II? Why could they not change the name of the alfil to that of the Bishop in the poem? Was any or everyone afraid to give too much power to a certain churchman?

¹⁰⁵ LHÔTE, Jean-Marie (2002) Martin Le Franc et la dame enragée. In: Board Game Studies, 5, pp. 105-110

The Satiric School in Valencia

Bernard Fenollar formed part of the Satiric School in Valencia and was known for his satiric compositions.

Rafael Alemany¹⁰⁶ let us know that if the crown is gradually deselecting the direction of cultural life and the religious establishment restricts the social dimension of its influence, it is clear that the stimulus that allows the 14th-century literary splendor comes from other classes. As for Valencia in particular, these are the local gentry and urban patriciate. Both will become the real drivers of the letters of the fifteenth century who benefit from the great possibilities that gave the printing houses in this city. In this context occurs one of the most significant cultural developments: the emergence of new platforms such as the literary circles on the one hand and poetry contests on the other hand. An example of the literary circles is Bernat Fenollar's poetic circle where Jaume Gassull, Narcís Vinyoles, Francesc de Castellví, Joan Moreno, et al are integrated. All these writers are characterized by cultivating poetry, especially but not exclusively satirical, in which the burlesque treatment of erotic and sexual material acquires a notable role, as well as the fact of producing their work collaboratively: indeed, the great constants of this literary circle are works written by more than one author, debates, questions, and answers.

Jaume Roig (ca. 1400-1478), author of *Espill* or *Llibre de les dones*, started with the Valencian satiric school. One can say that the author of *Espill* did not hate women insofar as can be seen in the work, but his misogyny was rather moralistic burlesque, in line with the Valencian Satirical School. *Espill* would be a book destined for reading by men of that time and the fact that Roig presented an exaggerated misogyny would provoke ridicule and laughter in the reader. With all this one cannot deny the misogynist nature of this work. *Espill* incorporates all antifeminist stereotypes of the Middle Ages because all the evils, all the vileness and possible crimes are

¹⁰⁶ **ALEMANY FERRER, Rafael** (2000) Ausiàs March y las letras valencianas del s. XV: vasos comunicantes. In: Altra ed.: Lourdes Sánchez Rodrigo i Enrique J. Nogueras Valdivieso (eds.), Ausiàs March y las literaturas de su época, Granada, Universidad de Granada, 2000, pp. 111-131.

attributed to women, and they have been the cause of all the ills of humanity. Only two are the exception: the Virgin Mary and Isabel Pellisser.

Was the poem intended as politic propaganda for Isabel I of Castile who had the same characteristics as the Virgin Mary or wanted the poets to mock the queen? Maybe Prof. Alcalá¹⁰⁷ is right when he states:

Yo creo ver en todo esto de que la reina del ajedrez personifique a Isabel más que un elogio una especie de ironía, de tomadura de pelo por parte, precisamente, de tratadistas (Lucena, los valencianos) que o no están a su servicio, sino de Fernando, o no son ni siquiera castellanos¹⁰⁸, por lo cual tenían que alimentar cierto resentimiento contra una mujer que había haciendo desde el primer momento de su coronación y seguía haciendo todo lo posible para mangonear y mandar más que su marido, contra lo que tradicionalmente había pasado siempre. Me puedo imaginar a los tahures, al mover la nueva reina mandona, diciendo en las tabernas y las casas de juego: "¡Aí va, la mandona, la mujerona, la virago!!!"

Translation:

I believe in all this that the chess queen does not personify Isabel I of Castile with eulogy, but rather a kind of irony, teasing by precisely from writers (Lucena, Valencian poets) who are not in her service, but in the service of Fernando. They are not even Castilians, so they had to feed resentment against a woman who since the first moment of her coronation was making every effort to bully and command more than her husband, contrary to what traditionally had always been the habit. I can imagine the gamblers moving the bossy new queen, saying in taverns and gambling dens: 'Here is the bossy big woman, the virago¹⁰⁹!!!'

Interesting to see is the signification of virago in relationship with the term dama:

¹⁰⁷ Personal communication

¹⁰⁸ With exemption of Juan Ramírez de Lucena

¹⁰⁹ A virago is a woman who demonstrates exemplary and heroic qualities. The word comes from the Latin word *vir* meaning 'man' to which the suffix -ago is added.

A virago is a woman who demonstrates exemplary and heroic qualities. The word comes from the Latin word *vir* meaning 'man' to which the suffix -ago is added, a suffix that ...

In the Spanish draughts game we know the term virol¹¹⁰ that also has to do with the term dama:

Virol se entiende cuando se tiene encerrada en una calle por donde corre á una dama enemiga sin poder salir de ella.

Translation:

Virol means a position when you have locked in a line the enemy lady (dama), making it impossible for her to leave.

Whatever will be the reason of the sudden change of weak chess queen in powerful chess queen in Valencia, one thing is clear with respect to her name abroad. There the powerful was received in a mocky way:

échecs de la dame *enragée*“
“alla rabiosa”
“Welsches-Schachspiel
“Mad Queen Chess”

- France
- Italy
- Germany
- Great Britain

¹¹⁰ **PIFERRER, Juan Francisco** (1839) Juego de las damas, Barcelona, p. 3
GARCÍA CANALEJAS, Juan (1650) Libro del juego de las damas dividido en tres tratados, Zaragoza, p. 95

Conclusion

Cesolis' chess books inform us that the figures on the chess board are a mirror of the daily life¹¹¹. Stanza 54 of *Scachs d'amor* states that the queen (dama) in the new game had received the sword, the scepter, and the throne. This only happened to Isabella I of Castile in Spain in the XV century. She became the new powerful queen on the chess board with a long move. Dr. Arie van der Stoep had proved with his doctoral dissertation that the Spanish word "dama" originally came from France, where the word is "dame". In France we only had a weak queen with a short move. Isabella I of Castile became the leading figure in Spain and Castilian habits and language were quickly accepted by the Aragonese courtiers who wanted to serve his King. Castile's superiority was in the atmosphere and according to Prof. Antoni Ferrando there was a deep inferiority complex of the Catalan speakers against the imperial Castilian language. As we know, Narcís Vinyoles was one of the three poets who wrote the poem *Scachs d'amor* in 1475. However, one of the first traitors to the Valencian region and language in 1510 was the poet Narcís Vinyoles. If this is true, then he also was one of the first traitors to the Valencian region in 1475 and was thus in line with his behavior.

¹¹¹ The symbolizing of the game of chess was intended to relate the nature and movement of its pieces with the different classes of society, their role and their duties.

CHAPTER IV

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Annex I

Valencia Spain: The Cradle of European Chess¹¹²

Ricardo Calvo

1. Introduction

Towards the end of the 15th century Medieval chess underwent a dramatic change with new rules - those we call now¹¹³ "modern chess". The change was a revolution indeed¹¹⁴. Among many

¹¹² Presentation to the CCI May, 1998 - Vienna, Austria

¹¹³ It is convenient to remember the rules of pieces' movements in Islamic and Medieval chess. All pieces were the same as today, except Queen and Bishop. The Queen, called then "alferza" in Spanish, or "fers" or "fiers" as still today in Russian, could only reach an adjacent diagonal square. The Bishop, or "Fil" in Arabic, ("arfil" in Lucena) could only jump to a third diagonal square regardless of the occupation of the intermediate point. Thus, the Bishop of c1 had only 8 squares in the board during the whole game: a3, e3, g1, c5, g5, a7, e7, g7. The same for all other bishops. A Pawn promoted only to a fers, and the newly promoted fers could, on its first move only, make two consecutive moves. A victory could be obtained when all pieces of the opponent have been captured ("Bare King" rule).

¹¹⁴ When the literary chess circle of Valencia composed the "Scachs d'amor" poem and Lucena wrote his chess book, the popularity of the old game had already passed its medieval zenith. The XV century produced many chess works, but the flourishing period of expansion was over. There is a noticeable fatigue towards the old medieval chess rules, where the queen or "alferza" could only move to an diagonal square and the bishop only to a third diagonal square. The games were long and boring. So, the main form of playing chess with the old rules was betting with chess problems and not playing a game. Manuscripts in use are mainly compilations of chess problems, the most popular {having} been known as "Bonus Socius" and "Civis Bononiae". To revitalize the game, many attempts emerged spontaneously in many places, as had happened since the introduction of chess in Europe by the Arabs. Thus, chess could be played with dice since early medieval times, or on boards of new dimensions, with new pieces, as shown in the Codex of Alfonso X of Castile. Normal medieval chess also suffered modifications, and the rules of playing the game varied from country to country. As Murray said, there was no ultimate tribunal which could decide which rules were definitive.

[The new form of playing chess adopted in the chess circle of Valencia completely changes the picture. With the rapid movements of queen and bishop,

other aspects affecting the practice of play, a single pawn could from then on decide the issue of the game by promoting into the powerful new Queen. Some relevant questions are: Where did this tremendous change take place? Who had the idea? When? Why? How was the cultural frame inspiring this unique development? There has been some confusion among chess historians, trying to answer in many ways these questions mostly with a mixture of intuition and speculation, because decisive sources were unknown to many of them¹¹⁵.

the theory of opening play becomes very important because it is possible to checkmate the opponent in a few moves. Arab players, with the old rules, didn't bother too much about the opening because the chess armies deployed slowly. So, each player, when beginning the game, had in mind a distinct order of battle or "tabiya" (classified with fancy names) which he intended to obtain, without caring about the opponent's moves. The real chess battle started in the middle game. Modern chess changes also all principles of attack and defense, because the new moves of queen and bishop increase tremendously the possibilities. Likewise, previous endgame theory is quite thoroughly shaken since a pawn can promote to a powerful queen. A completely new game has emerged. It suited very well the spirit of the time. At the end of the XV century the geographic discoveries broadened the mental horizon, and the possibility of printing books speeded the codification of accumulated experience. A new role for women in society and politics appears. A changing social structure towards unitarian states where only the king could afford the costly artillery dismantles the political and military influence of feudal lords. All this is also reflected in the chess board, and the modern way of playing chess, tailored for a new era, expands rapidly and is immediately accepted in the leading European countries. From that moment down to our day, the chess game has grown and grown, becoming an impressive corpus of accumulated knowledge.

See Antonius van der Linde "Das Schachspiel des XVI Jahrhuberts. Nach unedierten Quellen bearbeitet". Berlin 1874. Joachim Petzold "Das königliche Spiel. Die Kultur Geschichte des Schachs" Stuttgart 1987. pp. 147-155. "Beitrag zu einem strittigem Thema: Wie erklärt sich der Name Dame im Schach?" Europa Rochade. Maintal. Noviembre 1994. pp. 51-54. Hans Holländer "Bretter die die Welt bedeuten. Das Schachspiel in der frühen Neuzeit" in "Zur Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte der Brett- und Kartenspiele" Aachen 1994. pp. 21-30. Govert Westerveld "Historia de la nueva dama poderosa en el juego de ajedrez y damas" Homo Ludens IV. Munich-Viena 1994. pp. 103-124).]

¹¹⁵ In particular, the MS "Scachs d'amor" was discovered in 1905, when Van der Linde and Von der Lasa were already dead. There were votes for Spain (T. von der Lasa "Das Werk des Lucena von 1498" in Schachzeitung. Berlin 1858 pp. 443-445, 481-498. Ib. in 1859 pp. 9-12, 41-45, 71-74, 104-107, 224, 226. Also in

The new game carries a persistent Spanish hallmark during the whole Renaissance. The most convincing point is the chronology of several chess works. Here is a chain of important facts:

1. The oldest game of modern chess appears in a Catalan MS with the title "Scachs d'amor". We can safely admit as birthplace of the new game a well-known literary circle in Valencia, around 1470-1490, the "Scachs d'amor" manuscript being its first written expression. The lack of modern references to this tremendously significant work is a very strange thing¹¹⁶.

"Zur Geschichte..." pp. 169-183.). France had its supporters as well (Jacob Silbermann y Wolfgang Unzicker "Geschichte des Schachs". Gütersloh, Munich-Viena 1975. pp. 36-46). Following Murray's preference, Italy came also as a candidate. A critical review is Egbert Meissenburg "Vom Firzan zur Königin im Eilschach" IFK (Internationales Forschungszentrum Kulturwissenschaften". Ed. E. Strouhal. Viena 1995 pp. 27-37).

¹¹⁶ Since the MS was discovered in 1905, neither Van der Linde nor Von der Lasa could enjoy the study of its significance. Murray used the data from Paluzie in the article "The Catalan poem Scachs d'amor" British Chess Magazine, Londres, 32, 1913 p. 72. After this, he included a short and superficial comment in his great book of 1913 (pp. 781-2). He admitted the possibility of the game having been really played, which seems very unlikely. The significance of "Scachs d'amor" is contemptuously treated in Murray. In a note on p. 781 he says for instance: "The poem exhibits some striking resemblance to Vida's "Scacchia ludus" described below, but on the whole I regard it as describing an earlier phase of chess than that in Vida". If it is earlier, (which on the other hand is an obvious fact), why such a brief and superficial treatment? Is it not a crucial piece of evidence in the whole problem of the origins of modern chess? The wording of Murray gives the impression (at least to me) that the Valencian issue took him "à contre-coeur". Murray was inclined towards an Italian scenario in the origins of modern chess, in spite of the opposite ideas already supported by Von der Lasa. For Murray, a new Valencian MS must have been uncomfortable. What is Valencia in the middle of the Italian splendour of the Renaissance? After the palsy induced by Murray, practically all the chess historians seem satisfied with the state of affairs. I have not found a single word about "Scachs d'amor" in the wonderful "Dizionario Enciclopedico degli Scacchi", (A. Chicco, G. Porreca. Mursia. Milano 1971) or in the prodigious "The Oxford Companion to Chess", by Hooper and Whyld (segunda edition 1992) in spite of the mention of the "Scachs d'amor" game at the "Oxford Encyclopaedia of Chess Games" by D. Levy. K. O'Connell. Not a single word in Golombek's "Chess: A History" Putnam NY 1976, or in his "The Encyclopaedia of Chess". (Batsford Londres 1977). Not a single word in "Geschichte des Schachs", (Jacob Silbermann, Wolfgang Unzicker. Gütersloh,

2. The first printed chess book was the lost incunabulum by Vicent, in Valencia 1495. It contained almost certainly material on modern chess¹¹⁷.

3. The oldest preserved book on modern chess, i.e., the game being played with the current rules of movement, was written nearly 500 years ago by an Aragonese "converso" named Lucena, was printed in Salamanca by Hutz and Sanz in 1496 or 1497, and was dedicated to Prince Don Juan (1478-1497). This work is closely connected with the other two, as I have been able to prove. (R. Calvo, "Valencia, Geburtsstätte des modernen Schachs", Schach-Journal (1992), N.3. pp. 34-46. A shorter English version of this paper is R. Calvo, "Valencia, birthplace of modern chess". New in Chess, Alkmaar 1991. N.7. 82-89). Reviews on Lucena's book have been carried out recently¹¹⁸ bringing up new data which enable a better picture on the origins of modern chess.

4. A Spanish chess MS preserved in El Escorial (MS O III) contains important problems of modern chess. It is dated exactly in 1500. Author unknown. No relevant connections to the others, except several hints of relations to Italian chess players. I commented the MS O.III from El Escorial in 1985 for the first time¹¹⁹.

Munich-Vienna 1975) or in Petzold's "Das Königliche Spiel" (Kohlhammer. Stuttgart 1987). The list of omissions could be easily multiplied. Such sad phenomena are not rare in chess historiography. There are no advantages in insisting on it.

¹¹⁷ Yuri Averbach, "Zagadka utracennoy knigi" in Nauka i Zizn. Moscú 1985. N. 8. pp. 137-141. English version under the titler "The Mystery of the Lost Book" in IFK (Internationales Forschungszentrum Kulturwissenschaften". Ed. E. Strouhal. Viena 1995 pp. 117-122) and in "The Chess Collector", December 1993, vol IV, n. 3. Spanish version "Revista Internacional de Ajedrez", Febrero 1993 (nº 65), Marzo 1994 (nº 78). A discussion came in J. Perez de Arriaga in "Revista Internacional de Ajedrez" (Artículo en nº 68, mayo de 1993 y carta en nº 82 (julio 1994) and in "The Chess Collector", Vol VI, nº 1 y 2, Enero-Abril 1997.

¹¹⁸ Ricardo Calvo "Lucena, la evasión en ajedrez del converso Calisto". Perea ediciones. El Toboso 1997. J. Pérez de Arriaga, "El incunable de Lucena, primer arte de ajedrez moderno" Ed. Polifemo. Madrid 1997.

¹¹⁹ Ricardo Calvo "Un nuevo manuscrito de ajedrez del siglo XV" Revista Jaque. San Sebastian Año XV nº 173. 15 de Abril de 1985 pp 252-253. "Ein neues

The so-called Göttingen MS, from c. 1500, which is almost certainly due to Lucena. This work in Latin proves that the Spanish chess material on modern chess was winding up in Bourgogne.

5. The so-called Paris MS, from the first quarter of the 16th century, is due to Lucena and bears his own signature. Written in French, with strong influences of Spanish idioms.

6. The MS Paris f. allem is almost certainly due to Lucena.

7. Only after this, an explosion of works on modern chess takes place with a strong Spanish influence in most of them. In Italy (Damiano, Vida, the lost book of Cardan), in France (the Paris manuscript of Lucena) and in Spain (Ruy Lopez, the lost book of Ceron). The purpose of this paper is to prove that the place where modern chess originated was Valencia, inside a well known chess-literary circle.

2. Scachs d'amor

The first recorded game of modern chess appears in a Catalan manuscript towards the end of the XV century in a manuscript entitled "Scachs d'amor. The complete title of the manuscript is: "Hobra jntitulada scachs d'amor feta per don franci de castellvi e narcis vinyoles e mossen bernat fenollar sota nom de tres planetes ço es Març Venus e Mercuri per conjuncio e jnfluencia dels quals fon jnventada". So, the names of the players were Castellvi* (white) and Vinyoles* (black), with an arbiter named Fenollar*. The MS bears no date and directly says nothing about the city where the events took place. But Castellvi, Vinyoles and Fenollar were three well-known members of an active literary circle in Valencia, at the end of the XV century, and their works are of paramount importance to the questions of the origins of modern chess. These three chess

Schachmanuskript aus dem 15. Jahrhundert. Europa Rochade. Maintal 1985 n° 3 S 28. "Un nouveau manuscrit échiquéen du XV siècle" Europe Échecs. BESANÇON n° 319-320 Juillet-Août 1985 pp 434-435.

players and writers enjoyed in Valencia, during the last quarter of the 15th century, a remarkable social prestige and political influence. Catalan scholarship has therefore paid a lot of attention to them¹²⁰.

¹²⁰ [Note 8: See Salvador Guinot "El ajedrez en la tertulia de mossen Fenollar" Boletín de la Sociedad Castellonense de Cultura. Castellón de la Plana, 1921, pp. 132-143. Antoni Ferrando Francés "Narcís Vinyoles i la seva obra" Facultat de Filosofia i Lletres. Valencia 1978, Alexandre Bataller y Carme Narbon "Escacs d'amor; una obertura al joc" (A Sol Post. Estudis de Llengua i Literatura. Ed. Marfil 1991)].

The dating of the MS, and therefore the first appearance of a modern chess game can be done by indirect evidence linked with the biographies of the involved actors. The MS was discovered relatively late, in 1905 but apparently it has disappeared during the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939). It was found by the Jesuit P. Ignasi Casanovas in 1905 ("Codexs de l'Arxiu del Palau", Revista de Bibliografia Catalana, VI, 1905, pp 32-34). In the Real Capilla del Palau (Barcelona) as a legacy from the Counts of Sobradiel. According to him, the MS consists in 13 written folia and 30 blank pages. The size was 290x215. The chess text appears in fol 1-8a and 9b-13. The Catalan chess historian José Paluzie y Lucena (1860-1938) made a review in French ("Notice sur un Manuscrit en langue catalane existant à l'Archive du Palau à Barcelone" La Stratégie. Paris 4 de abril 1912. pp. 121-123).

Shortly afterwards, a half page was published by him at the "Deutsches Wochensach" (nº 21, 26 de mayo 1912 p. 189). The enormous importance of the MS found however no international resonance, in spite of Paluzie's insistence in his "Manual de Ajedrez" (J. Paluzie. 6 vol. Barcelona 1912, Reed. 1923-31, 1928, 1930-31, 1943, 1947-58). The first complete edition is due to Ramón Miquel i Planas ("Escachs d'Amor, poema inèdit del XVè segle" in "Bibliofilia. Recull d'estudis, observacions, comentaris i notícies sobre llibres en general i sobre qüestions de llengua i literatura catalanes en particular", Volum primer. Barcelona 1911-1914. pp. 413-440.). Next study was José Ribelles Comín ("Scachs d'amor, feta per don Françí de Castellui, e Narcís Vinyoles e Mossen Fenollar" en "Bibliografia de la lengua Valenciana" (1) Madrid 1915, pp. 275-297). Other Catalans reviewers are Jordi Rubió i Balaguer (Història de la Literatura Catalana, 1948), the chapter "Bernat Fenollar i els seus amics" by Martín de Riquer (Història de la Literatura Catalana. Vol. IV. Ariel. Barcelona 1980, pp. 181-224).

Recently, a private edition of the text of "Scachs d'amor" has been published by Salvador Juanpere i Aguiló. Figueras 1992. First, a few words about the game itself. The moves were as follows: (1) e4, d5 (2) ed, Qd5 (3) Nc3 Qd8 (4) Bc4, Nf6 (5) Nf3, Bg4 (6) h3, Bf3 (7) Qf3, e6 (8) Qb7, Nbd7 (9) Nb5, Rc8 (10) Na7, Nb6 (11) Nc8, Nc8 (12) d4, Nd6 (13) Bb5, Nb5 (14) Qb5, Nd7 (15) d5, ed (16)

The game is described in the form of an allegory. Mars, playing with the red pieces, tries to obtain the love of Venus, playing with the green pieces. Mercury acts as an arbiter. The three speak in turn, in Catalan verses, probably improvised, as is possible to see even today in literary contests in Valencian towns. Some scholars wrote that it showed a very primitive level of playing. This is questionable. White has made 21 moves, also 21 strophes in verse. Black has produced 20 strophes. The arbiter, another 20. Altogether, 61. There are 3 introductory strophes (or stanzas) explaining the allegory, which adds up to the sum of 64 strophes, as many as there are squares on the chess board, which was obviously one of the purposes of the allegory. The authors stated it explicitly: "suma lo nombre de les cases, que son sexanta-quatre / a les quals corresponen sexanta-quatre cobles".

In other words, the game was invented and we cannot draw any conclusion about the real playing strength of Castellvi, Fenollar and Vinyoles when a literary purpose clearly dominates the course of such a chess game. The title of the manuscript also uses the word "inventada". Inventions, puzzles and literary contests appear frequently in the activities of these three Valencian poets and chess players. It allows an approximation to the intellectual atmosphere in which modern chess seems to have been born. As a whole, the "Scachs d'amor" poem is extremely charming. A gallant game of love creates an allegorical battle where chess pieces represent different aesthetic, even moralistic, embodiments. Beauty, Reason, Will or Shame play over the board a love game where descriptions of the technical aspects are interwoven with other layers of expression. In a way, the poem is a typical product of Renaissance fashions, mixing chivalrous attitudes with a pragmatic approach "à la bourgeoise".

3. The Martial Castellvi

Be3, Bd6 (17) Rd1, Qf6 (18) Rd5, Qg6 (19) Bf4, Bf4 (20) Qd7, Kf8 (21) Qd8 mate.

The "caualler" Francesc de Castellvi appears as one of the three authors of the "Scachs d'amor" poem. Even though he is the first known winner of a game of modern chess, he is relatively unknown. He was lord of several towns in the area around Jativa. He acted as a close adviser in the Aragonese court of King Ferdinand. He was surely a member of a distinguished Valencian family¹²¹.

The most important fact is that Castellvi died on the 6th of November, 1506, and this is therefore the ultimate limit for the datation of the manuscript, which has no date. Even after the centuries, it is possible to notice some aspects of Castellvi's personality because of literary expressions of a peculiar kind. His attitude reflects a liking for struggle, confrontation against difficulties, will of triumph. It is clearly an expansive and vitalistic mentality of contagious optimism. In a sharp contrast, the cautious Vinyoles acts as a careful conservative in love or war matters. In particular the pairs of stanzas 7-8 and 55-56 are typically opposite.

As a poet, Castellvi, appears mostly in minor poems in collaboration with the other two members of the "Scachs d'amor" trio. One of these poems, published in the "Cancionero General" de Hernando del Castillo (Second edition, Valencia 1514), consists of a "demanda adevinativa", a word puzzle aimed at obtaining the name of a given lady: seven letters, four syllables, the first two syllables being "one of the highest names sounding in the passion of Jesus Christ" and the second two syllables a great award. Fenollar poses the question and Castellvi and Vinyoles found the answer: "Elionor". Eli, lamma sabbactani is one of the cries of Jesus on the cross. Onor means honour. The mute letter "H" was used in a very erratic manner in

¹²¹ I have found a sermon of this period dedicated to a certain Isabel de Castellvi, "a great virtuous lady", and another sermon written by Mossen Galuany de Castellvi. Both references appear in an incunabulum printed in Valencia in 1497 by Nicolaus Spindeler, where a sermon by Narcis Vinyoles is also included. The name Castellvi originated in Bourgogne. A branch went to Aragon, and the coat of arms was " azur, a castle argent with a bordure in argent and azur" (Julio de Atienza, "Nobiliario Español", Aguilar, Madrid, 1948, p. 557).

those times. In the MS "Scachs d'amor" appear words like Honor, Obra or Honestat sometimes with "H", sometimes without it.

Vinyoles explains more: the complete name of this lady was "de Corbera", an aristocratic family with a "speaking" coat-of-arms representing a crow ("corb" in Catalan). Perhaps because of this, in the rhymed praise of the lady which follows, Castellví and Vinyoles call her "bell papagay""pagó smaltat", "ffalcó gentil". A feudal lord named Romeu de Corbera came in Valencia as the "Maestre" of the Chivalry Order of Montesa between 1410 y 1445. Elionor de Corbera could have been the muse inspiring a love story which our poets prefer to treat in a delicate way. Could this story have inspired "Scachs d'amor" itself?

4. Bernat Fenollar, a mercurial organizer

The abbot "mossen Bernat Fenollar" was born in Penaguila, near Alcoy, in the province of Alicante. He belonged to a notable Valencian family (coat-of-arms: or, four bends in sable). The year of his birth is generally estimated as somewhere between 1435 and 1440, and he died in Valencia before 1527. He was in close relationship to King Ferdinand, having acted as his "escribano de ración" (correspondence secretary) and "capellán y maestro de la capilla" (chapelman and director of the chorus).

Fenollar, as a priest, held a post in the cathedral of Valencia, and in 1510 was also active as a professor of mathematics in the University. The Catalanian title "mossen" was mainly given to clergymen, but not exclusively. As we shall see, Vinyoles also held this title in the later years of his life, even though he was a lay man and a married one.

The importance of the abbot Fenollar lies in his activities as literary patron and organizer of cultural contests in Valencia. He was the soul of the group, and probably not in vain appears in the chess game in the role of Mercury, the arbiter. Most important is the fact that the first printed books in Valencia, and according to several sources in the whole Spain, were introduced by the group around

Fenollar. The earliest incunabulum is "Obres e trobes en llaors de la Verge Maria", printed by Lambertus Palmart in 1474 after a literary contest which took place the 24th March of this year in honour of the Virgin Mary. Fenollar acted as the secretary of the jury and there were several contributions by Castellvi, Vinyoles and Fenollar himself.

It is a well-established fact that most of the early printers in Spain were Germans. An exhaustive study on this subject can be found in Konrad Haebler "Geschichte des spanischen Frühdruckes in Stammbäumen", Leipzig, Hiersemann, 1923, "Deutsche Drucker in Spanien und Portugal", in Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen, XI, 1894, pp. 529-564, "Die deutschen Buchdrucker des Xv. Jahrhunderts im Auslande". München 1924. In Valencia, the Mediterranean culture centre of the 15th century, there were many German printers, working alone or in couples. This is relevant to us because it shows his relationship with the printers of the chess books. For us one such duo is extremely important: Petrus Hagenbach and Leonard Hutz, because the latter went afterwards to Salamanca where he printed the chess book of Lucena. For instance, Hagenbach and Hutz printed on the 11th of January 1493 a book by Fenollar: "Istoria de la Passió de N. S. Jesu Christ" which proves a relationship of the chess circle of Valencia with the future printer of the chess book of Lucena¹²².

¹²² Hutz and Hagenbach, both Germans, both wayfaring printers, appear printing together in 1491 in Valencia, where they produced the following 11 books: (1) Imitatio Christi "Del menyspreu del mon". 16th February 1491; (2) Fenollar, Bernat "Istoria de la Passio del N. S. Jesu Christ". 11th January 1493; (3) Confessionale, "Breu tractat de confessio", 25th February 1493; (4) Furs fets en les corts de Oriola, 6th September 1493; (5) Hores de la setmana sancta segon lo us del archibisbat de Valencia. 21st February 1494; (6) Miravet, Joan de, "Opus artis grammaticae". 8th January 1495; (7) Ludolphus de Saxonia, "Lo quart del cartoxá", 6th November 1495; (8) Despuig, Guillelmus "Commentaria ars musicorum", 11th April 1495; (9) "Libre de les quatre ultimes i mes darreres coses", 8th June 1495; (10) "La revelació de Sant Pau", 3rd August 1495; (11) Ludolphus de Saxonia. "Lo premier del cartoxá", 13th April 1496.

The last book of Hutz and Hagenbach in Valencia is dated April 13, 1496. Then, they separated. Hagenbach went to Toledo, where he was still active as a printer in 1505. Hutz went to Salamanca, where he joined Lope Sanz and, together with him, printed the chess book of Lucena. Hutz remained in Salamanca the whole year of 1496, and this is a basic fact in order to date Lucena's work. The list of books printed in Salamanca by Lope Sanz and Leonard Hutz is as follows: (1) Bricot, "Textus abbreviatus logicem Aristoteles", 1496; (2) Villadiego, "Contra hereticam pravitatem", 8th January 1496; (3) Tomas de Aquino, "Commenta in libros Aristoteles de generatione et corruptione", 26th February 1496; (4) "Leyes del estilo o Declaraciones sobre las leyes del fuero ", 10 February 1497; (5) Lucena, "Repeticion de amores y arte de Acedrex", No date, 1496 or most probably 1497.

After 1496 Hutz went to Zaragoza, where he appears printing books with Jorge Cocci (Georg Koch) and Lupus Appentegger in 1499 and 1500. Later, he returned to Valencia, where he was still printing in 1505 and 1506. These facts are relevant because they enable us to establish a solid link, Leonard Hutz, between Lucena and the chess-literary circle of Valencia, where modern chess seems to have been born.

Of special significance for the Renaissance of chess is Lope de Roca "Alemany"¹²³, a true master of the early printing, because he was

¹²³ This famous German printer of Vicent book had probably transformed his original name of Stein into a Spanish version (roca = stein). He started his printing activity in Murcia in 1487 but later settled down in Valencia, where he appears in May 1495 printing the chess book of Vicent together with Pere Trincer. Lope de Roca "Alemany" died in Valencia in 1498. Haebler (Konrad Haebler. "Geschichte des spanischen Frühdruckes in Stammbäumen", Leipzig, Hiersemann, 1923; "Deutsche Drucker in Spanien und Portugal", in Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen, XI, 1894, pp. 529-564; "Die deutschen Buchdrucker des Xv. Jahrhunderts im Auslande". München 1924) has established solid facts proving the close connection between Lope de Roca, who was the true master of printing, and the printing types used by Hutz and Hagenbach. Several documents prove also a friendly personal relationship among them. Hutz is particularly important because he printed the chess book of Lucena. Salvio made the mistake of considering "L'Alemany" a chess author, instead of a mere printer. The list of the

one of the printers of the chess book of Vicent. Lope de Roca "Alemany" printed on the 25th of October 1497 "Lo proces de les olives", a collection of satirical poems which features several contributions by Fenollar and by Vinyoles. The latter is shown in a wood-cut. Pere Trincher¹²⁴, the other printer of Vicent, published alone on the 3rd of February 1498 the incunabulum "Obra a llaor de S. Cristófol", or contest of verses in honour of St. Cristopher, also organized by Fenollar.

Research on Fenollar proves an important point: The modern game of chess appears in Valencia, towards the end of the XVth century, in a well known umanistic circle of poets, literary patrons and printers of books.

dozen of books printed in Valencia by Lope de Roca "Alemany": during these three years is as follows (1) Vicent, Francesch "Jocs partits dels scachs", 15th May 1495. This is the only book he printed together with Pere Trincher. (2) Aesopus "Fabulae", 28th September 1495; (3) Aesopus "Las fabulas de Laurentio Vali", 13th October 1495; (4) Ludolphus de Saxonia "Vita Christi o Lo quart del cartoxá", 6th November 1495;..(5) Honoratus Saint "Vida de Sant Honorat", 9th December 1495; ..(6) Ludolphus de Saxonia "Vita Christi o La terça part del Cartoxá", Circa 1495; (7) Bernardus Claravallensis, "Floretus", 3th August 1496; (8) Phalaris "Epistolae", 17 September 1496; (9) Carroç, Francesch "Moral consideració contra les persuassions, vicis force de amor". Circa 1496; (10) Villena, Isabel de "Vita Christi", 22th August 1497; (11) Fenollar, Bernat "(I) Jaime Gazull. (II) Lo procès de les olives) ", (I) was printed the 14th of October 1497. (II) was printed the 25th of October 1497; (12) Alexander VI Pont. Max. "Bula de indulgencias", 1497.

¹²⁴ A Catalanian of German ancestors, Trincher, Triger or Trinchet began his career as a book merchant in Barcelona. He went to Valencia, where he married Isabel Tenza on the 18th of March 1481, and the documents refer to him as "libretio cive ciutatis barcinone". As late as 1500 he was still in Valencia, but later he returned to Barcelona where he was still active in October of 1513. In Valencia, his main activity was bookselling or "libreter", and not printing. His only book, together with Lope de Roca "Alemany", was the chess book of Vicent. But Trincher printed in Valencia, alone, another book on the 3rd of February 1498, entitled "Obra allaor de S. Cristofol", in which the chess patron Fenollar intervenes. Both publishers of the chess book of Vicent participated in a very concrete Valencian circle of literary activities.

5. Vinyoles , the triumph of Venus

"Lo magnífich mossen Narcis Vinyoles", as he was called in his late works, died in Valencia in 1517, at an age estimated between 70 and 75 years. He was a relevant politician and writer in Valencia in the last quarter of the 15th. century. An important side of Vinyoles's personality is his literary productions.

The mentioned poem "Scachs d'amor" should be one of the earliest, if not the first, for several reasons which we shall discuss later. Then there appear a certain number of poems, some of them trivial, satirical or amatory, but others increasingly connected with religious themes, as in the literary contest in honour of the Virgin Mary, St. Catherina of Siena, St. Cristopher, etc. When he was a prominent politician, he wrote in a more grave manner, as shows his printed sermon on Psalm 50, "Miserere mei Deus" or "Have pity of me, oh God", (indeed a proper meditation subject for the first known loser of a chess game). His last work, in 1510, is a translation from Latin to Spanish, of the "Supplementum chronicarum" from Jacobus of Bergamo.

The literary production of Vinyoles suggests in the whole a strong Italian connection. Vinyoles belonged to a family of lawyers, and throughout his long life he occupied high political posts in the city. So Vinyoles can be defined as a losing chess player and a winning politician¹²⁵.

¹²⁵ As early as 1468, Vinyoles was appointed a member of the City Council, an annual post proposed by a parish. The parish of St. Thomas nominated him in the years of 1468, 1476 and 1492, the parish of St. Andrew in 1469 and St. Mary's parish in 1491. The parishes of San Salvador, St. Bartolomew and St. John elected him for other posts. Twice in his political life of more than 48 years Narcis Vinyoles was appointed for the very important post of "Justicia Civil", the supreme judge in civil cases. And in 1495, a letter from King Ferdinand, speaking about Vinyoles in the most laudatory terms, recommends him for the position of "Justicia Criminal". This letter says: "Lo Rey.- Cambrer e Batle general: Per la bona relació que tenim de la suficiència, disposició, abilitat e probitat del amat nostre Narcis Vinyoles, ciutadà de aquixa nostra ciutat de València, per a regir e exercir qualsevol dels officis de aquella, vos diem, encarregam e manam quant estretament podem que si lo dit Narcis Vinyoles exira en hu dels tres redolins que us seran presentats lo sendemà de Sanct Tomas primer venidor per a la elecció

This is relevant to the dating of the "Scachs d'amor" manuscript, which seems to belong to the early youth of Vinyoles. First, because it is a manuscript and not a printed book, and the first printed book - "Obres e trobes en llaor de la Verge Maria", by Lambertus Palmart - appears in Valencia around 1474 (containing, by the way, poems of Fenollar, Castellví and Vinyoles). Secondly, because the literary play, where Vinyoles acts as Venus, does not look appropriate to the high politician Vinyoles was during his late years. Thirdly, because the manuscript does not mention the title of "mossen" when referring to Vinyoles and this title is, on the contrary, given to Fenollar alone. Castellvi, at least, has a "don" preceding his name, but Vinyoles is referred to with his name alone. Vinyoles appears with the title "lo magnífich" in 1488, in a literary contest in honour of Saint Christopher. Taken together, these facts point to a probable dating of the manuscript which should be set in the decades of 1470 or 1490 at the latest. In any case, in all probability, the "Scachs d'amor" manuscript must be older than Vicent's printed chess book of 1495.

faedora del offici de Justicia Criminal de la dita ciutat per a lany après immediatament següent de Mill.CCCCLXXXV, eligiau i nomenau aquell per al dit offici axi com Nos en tal cas ara per favors lo elgim e nomenam..." (ARV, Cancelleria Reial, "Diversorum": Fernando II, años 1483-1496, legajo 2, vol 8. F. CCLXIII, Cit por Ferrando Francés, p. 21). Moreover, Vinyoles was for several years the chief administrator of the "Llotja" or New Market (1473, 1496, 1497 and 1516), a significant success in such an important mercantile city as Valencia was in those times. Vinyoles enjoyed the favour of King Ferdinand because he was a reliable servant of the royal politics of centralization. The Kingdom of Aragon was merged with the Kingdom of Castile. King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella were joining efforts to create an unitarian State, where linguistic differences were not desirable. So, Vinyoles, when translating the "Supplementum chronicarum" into the Castilian, explicitly abjures from Catalan as "a barbaric language." Still today, Catalan scholars regard Vinyoles as betraying his own cultural roots, and it explains why the research on Vinyoles works is relatively rare.

6. Interconnections

The political activity of Castellvi, Fenollar and Vinyoles, and their good relationship with King Ferdinand, gives us a very plausible link to Lucena. The Lucenas belonged to the Aragonese crown¹²⁶. Juan de Lucena, the father of the chess player Lucena, was ambassador of King Ferdinand, and when the Inquisition prosecuted

¹²⁶ Lucena was assuredly not from Salamanca, because he stated so. Almost certainly he came from someplace in the kingdom of Aragon, probably the area close to Medinaceli and Almazán. In 1503, Juan de Lucena suffered again a trial together with his brother, directed by the "Inquisidor General" Hernando de Montemayor. There is a pathetic letter from Juan de Lucena to King Ferdinand describing the terrible situation of his family and reminding Ferdinand of the past services to the Aragonese crown. This letter, dated 26th December 1503, is included in the appendix of the History of the Inquisition by Llorente, and according to him, this letter is preserved in the Royal Library, estante 5, codex 54.(Juan Antonio Llorente "Historia crítica de la Inquisición en España". Madrid 1822. In the letter, written in Zaragoza, Juan de Lucena gives several data permitting us a geographical location of this particular clan of Lucenas and defining some aspects of Lucena's biography. For instance, he says that the Inquisitor had "always hated my family, for many years". This Inquisitor was previously priest in the city of Almazán, near Medinaceli. Juan de Lucena was in those years secretary of the Duke of Medinaceli, so there is a coincidence of clues. To complete the circle, the Court of Prince John was based in Almazán. So, the most probable birthplace, or at least the domicile of the Lucena clan was around Almazán and Medinaceli, which, by the way, had a high percentage of conversos as characteristic of an area on the border between Aragon and Castile. According to the letter, the Lucenas have proved during many years their loyalty to the crown of Aragon, and had served efficiently King Ferdinand in many issues. The brother of Juan de Lucena who was in jail was the man in charge of the confiscation of all properties of the Jews expelled from Zaragoza in 1492. The Lucena clan was submitted to Aragonese laws, in civil as well as in ecclesiastic matters, but with the exemptions derived from his high post in the Court. To this refers the complaining letter of Juan the Lucena when saying that the Inquisitor Hernando de Montemayor "always hated me and my family because he always wanted to have us under his power". When writing the letter, 26th December 1503, Juan de Lucena is in Zaragoza "together with my sons", also including the chess player. In January 1507, as indicated by Cossio in the foreword of the facsimile edition of the "Repetición", Juan de Lucena was already dead, because the Duke of Medinaceli appoints as administrator of Puerto de Santa Maria "Jeronimo de Lucena, son of Juan, to pay the good services of the latter."(R. Calvo "Lucena, La evasión en ajedrez del converso Calisto" Perea Ediciones. El Toboso 1997).

him, in Zaragoza in 1504, there is a dramatic letter still preserved wherein Juan de Lucena reminds the monarch of all his past services to the crown. It seems likely that chess circle of Valencia was known by the Lucena clan, if not as a group of chess players, as it could be, at least as a team of high ranking officers in Valencia. Also to be remembered is the fact that Lucena the chess player had travelled "in Italy and France" with his father before writing his chess book, and the port of Valencia was the most sensible departure route when going to Italy. Altogether, a probable connection between Lucena and the chess circle of Valencia looks decisively reinforced, and not only limited to the well-established link through the printer Leonard Hutz. The Lucena clan was of Jewish origins, and the "conversos" had a close network of contacts among them. There is a lot of literature about the "conversos". Their special condition must be understood as situated in a peculiar "no man's land", in ideology as well as in religion. Under the pressure of their entourage, on the one hand, and of their roots, on the other, they were driven to an "escape forward" in a society, the Spanish society, which at the same time tried to destroy them. Seen globally, the conversos were decisive in almost every important event of this time, and Spanish history cannot be correctly understood without this particular fraction of society¹²⁷.

Castellvi was related to conversos, as a son of the "conversa" Violant d'Esplugues. Maybe Fenollar too, because some connotations of his name. Vinyoles was surely connected with another well-known group of "conversos", the famous Santangel clan, and therefore, a relationship between the Lucenas and the Valencian group seems highly probable. Vinyoles had to rescue his

¹²⁷ Several historians have pointed repeatedly to this, starting with Américo Castro's "The Historical Reality of Spain". A basic reference is the work of Amador de los Rios ("Historia social, política y religiosa de los judíos de España y Portugal"). The crucial paradox of the conversos, as Gilman says, is their placement, partly central and partly marginal, inside society. Or, as the converso Hernando de Pulgar, official chronicler of the Reyes Católicos put it: "I do not understand how you manage it. You reject us as relatives, but you choose us as lords". It is altogether amazing to consider the number of conversos in every structure and area of the Spanish society of the time.

wife, who was charged of being "judaizante" from the furies of the Inquisition¹²⁸.

Part of the political success of Vinyoles could be due to this close connection with an influential family of "conversos", the Santangel family. Luis de Santangel was the most important banker in the Kingdom of Aragon, including the Italian parts of this kingdom. King Ferdinand relied very much not only on his money but also on his advice, and Santangel was the one who backed financially the first expedition of Columbus. Vinyoles was a relative of Santangel since he married Brianda de Santangel, the niece of the great banker. The couple lived in 1513 in the parish of Saint Valery. Endogamy was a constant among the conversos, and according to Caro Baroja¹²⁹ not only because of natural attraction towards persons of the same kind, sharing the same "Weltanschauung" and the same sense of humour, but also for safety (less risk of being betrayed) and in many cases, common properties of material inheritances.

The marriage seems to have been one of those dictated by political convenience, with a certain difference of age between Vinyoles and Brianda. Vinyoles died in 1517, but Brianda was still alive in 1543, when she wrote her testament stating that her marriage with Vinyoles had no children. This impression is reinforced by one of the love poems of Vinyoles, when Fenollar asked him a puzzle about the name of Brianda. The answer of Vinyoles was: "Hoynt tal nom, hoy cant de sirena/ Fent-m adormir l'esperit sensual/ Brianda, crech, es de tal font la vena/ Y aquet dins mi, ab voluntat serena/ Viu y viura lo terme natural" ("When hearing such name, I hear a siren chant which makes my sensual spirit sleep. Brianda, I believe, is the vein of this fountain, which, inside me, with serene desire, lives and shall live out its natural term.") Brianda was the daughter of Berenguer de Santangel, brother of Luis. The eldest brother of

¹²⁸ Jordi Ventura "Inquisició espanyola I cultura renaixentista al País valencià" Ed. Tres I Quatre, Valencia 1978.

¹²⁹ Julio Caro Baroja "Los judíos en la España moderna y contemporánea". Madrid 1978, III bands.

Brianda, also named Luis, was abbot at St. John of Fiore in Naples in 1511. This branch of the Santangel clan lived in Naples for several years, which explains the Italian connections of Vinyoles. As a matter of fact, Vinyoles spoke not only Catalan, Castillian and Latin, but also Italian, in which he was fluent enough to write verses. One of his poems in the competition in honour of the Virgin Mary of 1474 was in "lingua toscana", beginning with the verse "Dilecta da Dio, obediante ançilla". In the contest in honour of the Immaculate Conception (1486), there is another "Tuscan" poem of Vinyoles, beginning with the verse "Non po sentire lo insensibili morto". So, we can establish yet another relevant link, connecting the Valencian chess circle with southern Italy. This may explain why the Vicent book, with problems of modern chess, was known by Cardan¹³⁰ and Salvio¹³¹ as late as the 17th. century. It also

¹³⁰ The physician, astrologist and humanist Girolamus Cardanus (1501-1576). Cardano or Cardan (inventor, among other things, of the wheel transmission known in mechanics as "cardan transmission") gives an important clue about the content of the lost incunabulum of Vicent (1495). A brilliant doctor and mathematician, Cardan spent in Milano most of his life. He was a welcomed guest in many European courts of the time, though always under suspicion of harbouring in himself "a genius and a demon". He left 249 written works, which are collected in the ten volumes of his "Opera Omnia" Lyon 1663. Many other writings went lost. Cardan wrote also a chess book, which likewise disappeared. In Chapter XIX of "De vita propria" Vol. I, p. 14 Cardano complains about the time he lost by playing chess and "io capisco di essere degno di censura per la smodata passione da me risposta negli scacchi e nei dadi. Giocai nell'una e nell'altra maniera per molto tempo, a dli scacchi per più di 40 anni e ai dadi per circa 25.; ne solo per tanti anni, ma, ho vergogna di dirlo, in quegli anni quasi tuttii giorni; e cosi perdei insieme reputazione, denaro e tempo". In his will dated 18th January 1566 gives as advice to Fazio (son of his executed son Gianbattista) to avoid all kinds of games. The chess treatise of Cardanus should have been written between 1521-22 and according to his own words was finished in 1524. The text began with the sentence "Non per vitio alcuno" ("It is not a matter of vice"). Cardanus seems very proud of his achievements, due to the big amount of chess materials included in his book. "40 combinazioni, i tranelli che in esse si possono fare, le regole aritmetiche per vincere e un modo cosi mirabile che i molti i quali lessero il libro, da ciò trassero per noi fiducia in più seri argomenti, ammirandone l'impegno e la meravigliosa abilità". Some of the positions must have been rather complicated: "per quanto io trovi ancora nel mio libro sugli scacchi molte e belle trovate, parecchie tuttavia andarono perdute, essendomi dovuto occupare di altro; ve ne furono poi 8 o 10 che non potei più ricostruire e

explains the Valencian influence, so far completely neglected by scholars, in Italian chess works as important as the famous "Scacchia Ludus" of Vida, where Greek gods also appear playing chess in verses. The rapid spread of the new way of playing chess in

che mi sembrava sorpassare veramente ogni umana destrezza e ingegnosità di invenzione." The important point is that in his treatise "De rerum varietate" (1557), Cardanus remarks that he composed his chess book with great effort, and makes several comments about the best way of printing diagrams. The practical problem was to print a black piece on a black square, and Cardan suggests a sensible way of solving it: instead of making the square completely black, it is better to make the square "striped". The Latin paragraph reads: "Loca nigri lineis nigris, quasi cancellis sunt distinguendi...latrunculorum vero figurae nigrae quidem tota superficie atramento tingantur..". Cardan mentions as a bad example that "those who printed the Spanish book confounded everything": "Qui hispanicum librum emisierunt, omnia confunderunt". The question is, which Spanish book is Cardan referring to? Lucena's book contains no mention of his printers, and only typographical research has established recently that the printers were Leonard Hutz and Lope Sanz. But on the contrary, Vicent's book stated clearly in the colophon that the book had been printed by Lope de Roca "Alemany" and Pere Trincher. So, Cardan was obviously referring to Vicent's book, and this book was therefore well known in Italy in the middle of the XVI century. This point suggests that at least part of the 100 chess problems compiled by Vicent were already modern chess. Bibliography: Angelo Bellini "L'autobiografia di Girolamo Cardano" Milano 1929, Adriano Chicco "La vita scacchistica di Girolamo Cardano" en Fortuna degli Scacchi nell 1500, Milano 1946 .Alessandro Sanvito "L. introvabile manoscritto di Girolamo Cardano" en L. Italia Scacchistica N. 1058, January 1994, pp. 6-7 Oye Ornstein "Cardano, the gambling scholar", Princeton 1953, Franco Pratesi "Le intelligenti cavalcate del Cardano" Scacco. Bergamo 1993, Van der Linde. "Geschichte...", II, pp. 49-50. Von der Lasa "Zur Geschichte..." pp. 181-183(19).]

¹³¹ In his very rare book "Il giuoco degli scacchi", Naples 1723, (which had its first partial edition in 1604), Salvio describes a chess match between Michele di Mauro and Tommaso Capputi. The astute Capputi prepared for the match by reading the chess book written by his opponent. On the contrary, Michele di Mauro used for his training other chess books: "...prende il Bove, il Rui Lopes e il Carrera, L'Alemanni, il Gironi e gli altri erranti..." These books are known: "il Bove" (The Ox) is Paolo Boi's book. Ruy López, Carrera and the Spaniard Girón also had chess books in use. But no one knows "L'Alemanni". Chicco deduced that Salvio, who frequently misread names, was referring to Vicent's book, confounding the name of the printer Lope de Roca "Alemany" with the name of the author. So, the book of Vicent was still known and used in Sicily in the 17th century.

Italy can be more easily explained through these links than through the book of Lucena, which remains unmentioned by the later authors from Damiano on.

7. Summary

Almost all the early works on modern chess are coming from Spain, and they are related in many ways to the chess circle of Valencia during the last part of the 15th century. In spite of certain reluctances of past chess historians, I don't see any reason to support any other birthplace for the modern game of chess. The origins of modern chess are in Valencia.

